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THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1929 TO 1938.

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CHAPTER I

THE DAWN OF FASCISM

Most political movements have evolved from the great needs and struggles of people. They are conditioned and molded by the experiences and environments of these same people. Never is such a movement born without much struggle and opposition. Nor is Fascism any exception to this rule. It developed and reached its full fruition in Italy because it there found a fertile soil for growth.

Fascism can be traced to a direct outgrowth of the World War. The young Italians were promised many special privileges upon their return from the war. To the host of the army should go the land of the country on demobilization and to the officers should go the reins of government.

But the army men found a much different welcome awaiting them on their return. They were not as joyously received as they were sent away. Land was neither given to the men nor was the government entrusted to the hands of the army officers. In fact the country itself was in the midst of bitter turmoil. Italy had been promised certain concessions if the Allies should win the war, but at the Versailles Peace Conference England and France failed to live up to the pledges that they had made to Italy in the secret London Treaty of 1915.

At the first outbreak of war the Italian Socialist

Party was the leading group in opposition to Italy's participation in the war. Although their attitude toward war changed slightly during its progress, they never once fully endorsed it. The stark disillusionment facing the entire country at the end of the war caused the people to turn against the government and all those who had talked favorably of war. Strong support was immediately given to the Socialist Party.

Just as this was happening the economic structure of the country began to collapse. The munition factories were naturally closed after the war thus causing unemployment for many. The cost of living began to soar higher and higher due to the rise in foreign exchanges. Strikes were prevalent in practically every branch of industry. Italy was drastically experiencing the economic aftermath of the World War.

Psychologically speaking the time was ripe for a revolution but that was just what the Socialists did not want. Many Socialist leaders felt that it was not the time to attempt to establish a Soviet republic in Italy. In fact they did just the opposite, they used all of their power to prevent any such revolution from occuring. Within two years the conditions for such a revolution were passed.

In 1919 there were several local factory occupations and several attempts by some of the peasantry to seize land. Of course these occupations occurred then largely as strikes occur in the United States today, because of conflicts between

capital and labor over wages. Mussolini's actions are interesting to note at this time. "During the most important occupation, in 1919, he personally addressed the workers and encouraged them in their action." (1) But the largest occupation came in 1920 when employers had told workers that they saw no reason why they should have to adjust wages to the cost of living. The employees naturally refused the conditions of work offered to them by the employers and a lockout was threatened over all of Italy.

At this point the Socialist leaders, especially those in the ranks of labor ordered all workers to go to the factories, but not to work. (At first hand this technique is quite comparable to that of the sit-sown strike used today) Thus this occupation proved to be a means of protective defense for the workers.

At this time the Socialist Party had a plurality in parliament and the stage was set for the Socialist Party to take the lead in the great Italian drama. Even the Socialist labor leaders urged the political heads of the party to assume control of the government, but once again these same heads refused. They had been trying to educate the Italian people in terms of Socialistic idealism. In fact they themselves had been dreaming of an ideal Social Italy and when the time came for them to take control of the government they

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1. Carmen Haider, Do We Want Fascism? p. 7.

were afraid to do so because they were afraid that they could not give the people all that they had promised them. At least they felt that their promises could not be fulfilled immediately nor could they be fulfilled without "strings" attached to them.

Had the Socialist Party gone into power at this time it seems quite doubtful that Fascism would be playing the leading role it does in the world politics of today.

The Socialist Party had earlier met opposition and readily accepted reaction from various other groups. Many of these groups were headed by deserters from the Socialist ranks themselves. Thus under the initiative of Mussolini, a newspaper editor and a former Socialist, a meeting was called in Milan for March 23, 1919 at which time the various groups were united and formed into a party called the Fasci Italiani de Com-Battimento (Italian group of fighting soldiers)

Together these new Fasci drew up a program that had decided radical tendencies. Among the almost countless number of platform planks they proposed for the internal reform of Italy: the introduction of universal suffrage for men and women; the seizure of 85% of the war profits; abolition of the senate; confiscation of certain church properties; a heavy inheritance tax; a heavy capital levy; an eight-hour day for all peasants and laborers; and the management of industries.

by those workers unions which proved capable. (2)

Even with such a party program as this, they had comparatively few followers. Only at one or two times did they come into the limelight and then only for a short time. The most famous of these was the Fiume incident. Gabriele d'Annunzio, a poet, fearing that the sea-port of Fiume might become a part of Yugoslavia, led a force against the city and conquered it. He decidely patterned his conquest after the style of the Roman Legions of old.

> Similarly, the cult of ancient Rome, with all that went with it, such as the military formations, the Roman salute, the battle cry, the Fascist emblem, even the black-shirt uniforms, were taken over by Mussolini from d'Annunzie. (3)

The only other activity of this party that demanded attention for a brief time was an attack on a newspaper known as the Avanti.

In the elections of 1919 the condidates of the Fasci, Mussolini and Marinetti poled only a few votes. The party directed itself chiefly towards attacking the Socialist Party at every opportunity. This they attempted with speeches, pamphlets and patriotic demonstrations. And at the same time they violently criticized the existing government in power. However as long as the Socialists remained on top the Fasci had to content themselves with a small following.

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2. See Jerome Davis, Contemporary Social Movements pp. 429 ff.
3. Carmen Haider, Do We Want Fascism? p. 10.

However when the Socialists refused the second time to accept any responsibility for the government, and in fact refused to take over the government, there arose a great deal of reaction against the party. Economically speaking there was a strong need for some party to try and reorganize the country. The bourgeoisie were strangely afraid of a strong national return in favor of the Socialist Party. They were afraid chiefly for their money and property, as is usually the case. Although the workers did not attempt to confiscate the property during their last general occupation of the factories, this large group of middle class people had no assurance that they would not go even farther if there proved to be a next time. As a result they naturally favored any other party seeking power except those radical Socialists.

Almost immediately the Fascists stepped forward, offering their party as a savior for Italy. They strongly urged that those who wished to defend themselves from the so-called "Red Tyranny" should defend themselves by grouping under the new flag. In all of the big towns the sons of the industrial and commercial middle classes todether with clerks, students and professional men rushed to join the new movement. They did this because this plan seemed to them the only means of saving that which they did not want to lose--their property and rights and privileges of their class.

A year after the party was formed the platform that they

had adopted was forgotten. The Fasci now set about with a patriotic spirit to bolster up the country. They endeavored to create a strong feeling of nationalism among the masses. They did this because it was an excellent nation-wide means of showing the country that they were first of all interested in Italy and the Italians. Then too nationalism has always helped to increase the membership of the party that advocates it. So, as the Fasci grew in numbers, they adjusted their program to the particular conditions in which they were forced to function. The decidedly radical and revolutionary program of the Fasci de Combattimento, that had been drawn up in the Assembly on the 23rd of March, 1919, was completely forgotten and discarded in the attempt to create a new political party with a great following. This has been heralded by many Fascists as a wise movement.

The Fasci did not confine their developing activities to the industrial centers. In fact Fascism achieved its greatest victory in the agricultural centers, especially in the Po Valley and around the districts of Bologna, Ferrara and Polesina.

> It may be said that there, more than elsewhere, the action of the Socialists justified the reaction to Fascism; that there, more than elsewhere, the exasperated middle classes were prepared to take any steps to re-

gain their rights which the masses had so foolishly and so outrageously abused. (4)

In these regions Fascism promised all sorts of solutions to do away with the existing evils and quite naturally received strong support. Mussolini later made an agreement with the industrialists of the lower Po Valley and from them received his first financial support for the Fasci.

Throughout the year 1920, Italy was the scene of all sorts of propoganda speeches and literature. The threat of strikes was used in every branch of industry and on many occasions the strikes even went beyond the threats. The vilest form of disorganization was evidenced over the entire country. On every side there was a strong feeling of hatred between the peasants and workmen and the middle classes. In fact it was even dangerous for automobiles to be driven through certain sections of towns because they were certain to be the targets of stones hurled by the workers. It was not uncommon for public officials to be hissed and booed and even abused. For many of the workingmen, Communist Russia became the ideal towards which to strive. Thus the witnessing of crime, violence and even bloodshed coupled with a feeling of strong class hatred was the cause of many citizens joining the ranks of the Fascists. Practically all the industrialists and members of the middle class looked to them to save Italy and re-establish order.

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4. Davis, Jerome, Comtemporary Social Movements p. 436

By November 1921, the Fascist Movement had become the Fascist Party. It now was a party strongly in favor of the middle society and violently opposed to the idea that Italy should adopt the Russian solution to her problem. It also felt that steady production could be maintained if only law and order were re-established. As a party it was naturally welcomed by the capitalists and industrialists because it offered the very solutions that they felt would insure their continuation.

On October 28 (which is now a historic day in Italy) 1922, the Fascists seized control of the government through their famous "March on Rome". There probably has never been a government that was as willing to yield its leadership to someone else as was the government that the Fascists took over. The country was tired and in complete disorganization and it was ready to grant the leadership to anyone who seemed willing and capable. Thus in a sense Mussolini was a "man of the hour" for Italy. Perhaps he realized this because he asked for and received complete powers from parliament. When questioned as to what his future program would be, this man who had instigated such a revolutionary and radical program in 1919 replied, "It is not programs of salvation Italy needs, but rather a man and a will." (5)

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5. Speech of Mussolini's at Udine, September 20, 1922

Then for a period of almost three years Mussolini vigorously put down any opposition to his party. It was his aim to blot out from the minds of the Italians any memories of the former Socialist or Communist Parties. He apparently succeeded because by 1925 there was practically no organized opposition to the Fascist government. In fact all but Fascist deputies had withdrawn from parliament leaving them free to conduct their own program. Thus if ever they were going to establish a program on which to work, now was the time.

Having briefly witnessed the history and causes of Fascism, an attempt must now be made to discover and define the doctrine of Fascism. In beginning this search, perhaps a logical starting place would be with the general definition such as J. S. Barnes gives when he defines Fascism as being--

> A political and social movement having as its object the re-establishment of a political and social order, based upon the main current of traditions that have formed our European civilization, traditions created by Rome, first by the Empire and then by the Catholic Church. Conversely, Fascism may be described as the repudiation of that individualist mentality that found expression first in the Pagan Renaissance, then in the Reformation and later in the French Revolution, not to speak of the Industrial Revolution, which issued into Capitalism, itself the product of the Reformation. (6)

This definition sets forth that first of all Fascism is a political and a social order based on the governmental traditions of European civilization, and those governmental tradi-

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6. J. S. Barnes, Universal Aspects of Fascism. p. 35.

tions are chiefly those of the old Roman Empire and the Catholic Church. What have those traditions been? Have they been in part the opinions, doctrines, practices and beliefs of law and order? Above all other things in the Roman Empire, military law and order was supreme. In the Catholic Church the law of obedience to the Papacy has always been required. It may be further gathered from this definition that Fascism is a movement that refuses to respect personal peculiarities or individual rights. In other words, Fascism is a movement concerned chiefly with maintaining law and order and demanding complete obedience to the party regardless of what it does or regardless of how it handles individuals.

Is this all that Fascism represents? Is it not more all-inclusive than this definition seems to translate it to be? Kirby Page in a recent book seems to think that it is more all-inclusive than it has been so far defined. He finds Fascism to be a social movement or system with the following characteristics:

> It establishes the totalitarian state with a demand for the complete subordination of the individual; it enthrones a dictator with absolute power; it endeavors by undemocratic means to perpetuate private property in the instruments of production and thus to preserve gross inequality in economic power; it wages civil war against all individuals and organizations which oppose its dictatorial sway, utterly suppressing freedom of speech, press, and assembly for the opposition, and ruthlessly torturing to an inhuman death all those men and women who stand in its way; it propogates a highly inflammatory type of nationalism and racialism through domination of education, religion and other aspects of culture;

it exalts militarism and drives delirious victims toward the abyss of war. (7)

However even this definition is inclined to leave out certain fundamental characteristics of Fascism. Scott Nearing in a four-point definition gives us even a more adequate clarification of Fascism. He says,

> 1. Fascism is a movement of the propertied and privileged, initiated by the middle class, and led first by members of the middle class and later by members of the ruling class,
> 2. who are retreating from the system of capitalist imperialism, rendered untenable by war, economic crisis and colonial revolt,
> 3. and who at the same time are defending themselves from the threat of proletarian revolution.
> 4. These elements are trying to barricade themselves behind strong national boundary lines; to exterminate the working-class revolutionary movement, and to provide themselves with the means of existence through a system of self-sufficient economy. (8)

This definition, while it shows the definite place that the middle class play in Fascism, leaves out the view of the totalitarian state that the other two definitions have sought to explain. To further define Fascism, Scott Nearing's "working definition" of this doctrine may be added, which is as follows:

> Fascism is working through the self-sufficient corporative state, using national boundary lines as the bulwarks of its power and the limitations on its fields

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7. Kirby Page, Living Courageously, p. 32.
8. Scott Nearing, Fascism, (pamphlet) p. 45.

> of activity. The directors of fascist policy are the elite, who discipline the masses in the interests of the nation. (9)

Thus with these two definitions coupled together it is possible to get a more adequate picture of what Fascism represents.

From these three definitions it may be gathered that Fascism is a movement instituted by a certain class in society who felt the necessity of saving their property and privileges. This movement calls for a state so strong and so universal that it will tower over every separate interest of any individual or group. In order to develop such a state a strong nationalism, must be created. With the creation of a strong nationalism, war is inevitable. In fact both tend to aid the growth of each other. Consequently Fascism as a movement strongly rejects peace and in fact believes that war brings out the true manhood in individuals. Mussolini certainly reflects this idea,

> Only war raises all human energies to the maximum and sets a seal of nobility on the peoples which have the virtues to undertake it. All other tests are mere substitutes, which never place man face-to-face with himself in the alternatives of life or death. Any doctrine, therefore, which starts from the initial postulate of peace, is foreign to fascism. (10)

The Fascist Movement uses strong disciplinary measures on its followers. Chiefly military in character, it imposes rigid penalties on violaters. Such an intensive program

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9. Ibid, p. 44.
10. Benito Mussolini, "The Meaning of Fascism", Leadership In A Changing World. Edited by Hoffman and Wanger. pp. 173-174.

of propaganda is carried on that people are taught to think, feel and act as a Fascist. Newspapers, magazines, books, and radio are under the rigid censorship of the government. Although rather indifferent towards religion in its early stages, it is certainly not indifferent now, especially towards Roman Catholicism. It does not go as far as Bolshevism, for instead it respects the God of the people which is the God of the Roman Catholic Church.

Fascism is a doctrine that requires discipline, sacrifice and co-ordination, above everything else, from its people. This is evidenced as Mussolini talks on the supremacy of the State.

> It is possible for this country to have a great future if you are willing to make the necessary sacrifices and to obey without question the commands of your government. Faith in, and obedience to your government are absolutely essential. This means that you will not allow any doubt to arise in your minds about the policy of your leaders. They are always right. You must not question them.....In all matters, social as well as economic and political, the State is supreme. 'Everything within the State, nothing outside!' The State takes complete charge of the life of the people---their education, their homes, their thoughts, their desires. To object to anything which the State does is treason, punishable by imprisonment or the loss of the ways of making a living...And what is meant by the State? The Fascist State, of course, for there is but one party now, one government, one leader.....You, as a loyal Fascist, must lose yourself in the service of the Stae, and become merely an instrument. (11)

Thus in the words of the greatest Fascist leader in the world today, it becomes quite clear what the actual meaning of the Fascist doctrine represents.

The bending and subordinating of an individual's will and his ideals to those of the party or State. Of course every individual caught in such a civilization must be willing to sacrifice his or her very life in order that the movement, Fascism, might live on. The immortality of Fascism is considered far more important than any individual immortality.

CHAPTER II

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FASCISM

The success or failure of any movement usually lies in what time has labeled as the philosophy of that movement. The answers to such questions as, what is the theory of the movement of Fascism, what are its aims, and how is it going about to accomplish its purposes, should be found in what is known as the philosophy of that movement.

Is there then such a thing as a philosophy of Fascism? Does it have definite aims, purposes and ideals? Is there a certain theory on which the movement is based?

Many students of the Fascist Movement maintain that Fascism has no philosophy. They even go further to declare that it is neither a religion nor a political theory. To help substantiate their case they cite the fact that Italy has more readily accepted Fascism because it has not been bound by theories or set formulae.

However there is another group which say that Fascism has a decided philosophy. This group feels that Fascism has definite aims, purposes and ideals, although the majority of them have been arrived at and formulated after the party had been in power for a few years.

First of all, Fascism now has a clearly defined political doctrine. Such a political doctrine as Fascism proposes,

calls for a "strong man" rule--- a dictator. In essence the idea of dictatorship --- which is a strong feature of the movement --- is not entirely new. The world had witnessed dictators long before Fascism made its appearance. The reasons though, that call forth such dictators, help to create the political doctrine of Fascism. Such a political doctrine was created to help solve the growing problem of unemployment, and a general economic breakdown. These conditions, which were a natural outgrowth of the world war, inevitably led to the need of a strong centralized government that would assume control. This was true in both Italy and Germany, and being true has now become an integral part of their political doctrine.

The majority of our modern doctrines are based on the belief that the happiness of individuals is apparently the goal of society. Thus the State, as such, is nothing but the means whereby all individuals can attain their ends. It is here that the Fascist theorists view this part of modern political doctrine with contempt. To buttress their contempt they show that the end of such a society, as modern doctrines create it, is nothing more than the ends of the enterprising individuals who compose it. They are concerned with their own selfish desires which decidedly exist here and now and are consequently isolated from the past or the future.

All modern views, Liberalism, Democracy, and Socialism,

have this strain of "individualism" running through them. The Fascists insist that the chief differences between these views and those of the Fascists, lie not in the end desired, but rather in the means employed for bringing about the welfare of the individual.

However, Fascism seems to be the direct antithesis of these other movements. As a doctrine it completely reverses the relationship between the State and the citizen.

> For Fascism, society is the end, the individual the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals for its social ends. Individual rights are recognized only in so far as they are implied in the rights of the State. In this preeminence of duty we find the highest ethical value of Fascism. Individuals come into being, grow and die, followed by others unceasingly; social unity remains always identical to itself. (12)

Here for the first time, it is possible to see under what guise Fascism takes away individual rights. Everything is sacrificed for the sole benefit of the State. In fact, Fascists are educated and taught to consider it a privilege to deny themselves any individual or private gains in favor of the higher demands of society --- the State. This "Ethical State" is always right. The fascist idea of the Ethical State is based on three principles.

> First of all, man is not only an individual but also a social animal. This implies unified and cooperative living which calls forth some form of disciplinary au-

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12. J. A. Leighton, Social Philosophies in Conflict. p. 15.

> thority. Secondly, all human actions are subject to a moral law based upon God's law. Individuals are incapable of solving the questions of right and wrong because these are matters of objective and discernible truth. And third, each different group possesses an organic life, composed of individuals subject to natural sociological laws of conservation, integration and growth. (13)

Thus according to the Fascists, the Ethical State, grounded in the above mentioned basic fundamentals, is the only one institution capable of fairly well protecting the interests of the people. It is possible for the State so to act because it is superior to all institutions and individuals. Concerning this Mussolini said,

> The Fascist State organizes the nation, but leaves a sufficient margin of liberty to the individual; the latter is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential; the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the State alone. (14)

Fascist leaders maintain that "Democracy is a corpse" because it fails to guide the individuals that compose it. They feel that a direction of national life is vitally necessare to the State. In fact Mussolini defines such a force in this way.

> The Fascist State, as a higher and a more powerful expression of personality, is a force, but a spiritual one. It seems upon examination to sum up all the manifestations of the moral and intellectual life of man. Its functions cannot therefore be limited to those of enforcing order and keeping the peace, as the liberal doctrine had it. It is no mere mechanical device for defining the sphere within where the individual may duly exercise his supposed rights. The Fascist State is an inwardly accepted standard and rule of

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13. J. S. Barnes, summarized from Fascism . pp. 80-82.
14. Benito Mussolini, The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism. p. 24.

> conduct, a discipline of the whole person; it permiates the will no less than the intellect. (15)

This Fascist State seeks to give its citizens a consciousness of their mission in the world. It undoubtedly strives to lead men to fully recognize the magnificent power of the State. To this end the slogan, credere, obbedire, combattere, --- believe, obey and fight --- is everywhere displayed in Fascist Italy. Fascist seek to educate the citizens of the State to the point where they regard life as not being easy but rather looked upon as a duty.

> Thus the Fascist accepts life and loves it, knowing nothing of and despising suicide: he rather conceives of life as a duty and struggle and conquest, life which should be high and full, lived for oneself, but above all for others --- those who are at hand and those who are far distant, contemporaries, and those who will come after. (16)

There is no doctrine anywhere in the world, and Fascism is no exception, which does not try to direct all human activity that come under its influence, toward an objective. Thus the value of Fascism (if it does have a value) lies in its conception of the State, its duty, character and aim.

> For us Fascists, the State is not merely a guardian, preoccupied solely with the duty of assuring the personal safety of the citizens; nor is it an organization with purely material aims, such as to guarantee a certain level of well-being and peaceful condition of life; for a mere council of administration would be sufficient to realize such objects. Nor is it a purely political creation, divorced from all contact with the

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15. Ibid.
16. Benito Mussolini, The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism. p. 12.

> complex material reality which makes up the life of the individual and the life of the people as a whole. The State, as conceived of and created by Fascism, is a spiritual and moral fact in itself, since its political, juridical and economic organization of the nation is a concrete thing: and such an organization must be in its origins and development a manifestation of the spirit. The State is the guarantor of security both internal and external, but it is also the custodian and transmitter of the spirit of the people, as it has grown up through the centuries in language, in customs and in faith. And the State is not only a living reality of the present, it is also linked with the past and above all with the future, and thus transcending the brief limits of individual life, it represents the immanent spirit of the nation. (17)

Thus, in brief, is a summary of the philosophy of Fascism as it is related to its political doctrines; summarized by the dictator of that country which is the most outstanding example of Fascist theory in the world today.

The idea of a Supreme State or a Corporate State will someday tend to lead to the destruction of Fascism. It is an axiom almost as old as life itself that peoples held in subjection, will one day turn upon and overthrow the force that has thus subjected them. The Corporate State of Fascism most certainly oppresses and holds in subjection its citizens --- at least according to the true meanings of those words, if not according to the Fascists. As one writer has said, "the more successful the Ethical State becomes, the more devastating will be the crack-up". (18) The peace and inner harmony, within the country, that Fascism has secured in Italy has come

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17. Ibid pp. 21-22.
18. J. A. Leighton, Social Philosophies In Conflict p. 12

about through the suppression of the difficulties present, not through solving them. This factor is apparently a universal aspect of Fascism.

The fundamental justification for Fascism was the increase of production and markets, thereby creating better living conditions. In practically every country that has gone Fascist, the pretext for doing so has been that of improving the general living conditions. Let us then look at the economic doctrines of Fascism to see what there is about them that cause them to appear so glamorous to some groups of individuals.

Fascism does not believe in class warfare. It even goes so far as to claim that there should never be any class conflicts because the social classes do not conflict with one another, but instead they supplement one another. However, at the same time Fascism believes in a strong division of labor on the basis that a manual worker cannot take the place of the capitalist or an expert. Thus Fascism likens itself to a huge machine with each part having its own independent function in harmony with one another because in essence there is no great difference or conflict between them. (19) Thus, in theory, a high ideal is fostered by this economic doctrine, but, in practice, the same old evils exist.

The question naturally arises, as to what Fascism has

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19. See Jerome Davis, Contemporary Social Movements. p. 454. ff.

done to help solve the problem of class collaboration and harmony? Both employees and employers have been organized into unions on a supposed equality, and the State has set itself up as an impartial judge to settle all controversies.

These organizations of the employees and employers are called syndicates and correspond to our trade unions in a number of respects. Of course the Fascist would allow no other organizations to exist except their own.

> Through a hierarchy of organizations, all syndicates are united in national confederations of employers and employees respectively, standing for the main branches of economic activity: industry, agriculture, commerce, banking, transportation and navigation. These confederations and their local syndicates have the two-fold task of defending the interests of their members and of enforcing the decisions of the State among them. (20)

Besides the syndicates, however, there are government planning agencies called corporations whose duty it is to set down rules of economic life and proceedure. Another main task of these corporations is to settle the disputes that arise among the syndicates.

An interesting thing about this mass unionization is that everyone and anyone engaged in economic activity is required to pay his dues to his syndicate. This is compulsory by law. However, at the same time, this does not entitle him to membership in his syndicate! The government controls practi-

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20. Carmen Haider, Do We Want Fascism? pp. 17-18.

cally the entire management of the syndicates. It determines how much the dues shall be, it confirms the elected representatives as to their competency, it must approve the constitution of a syndicate before it can be organized, and, at any time it has the power of revoking the charter of any syndicate.

> Membership is granted only to persons acceptable from a political and moral point of view. In practice this means that members must give expression to Fascist sympathies. Only members of the syndicates can influence their decisions. (21)

In many cases the workers do not even choose their own representative. Since the position of a worker --- "now rises to the level and the dignity of a profession, which is connected with the very existence of the adminstration and the political organization of the State", (22) the result has been that such representatives are chosen from the middle class and not from the workers themselves. Consequently, the union representative does not always hold the viewpoint of the union that he represents. He does not have the same economic or social background as that of the workers. The result, in a majority of cases, is that such a representative is inclined to favor capital. On the other hand the employer class --- the capitalists, choose their own representatives from their own group. Thus in many respects we see that this age old fight between

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21. Ibid. p. 19.
22. A Statement of the Ministry of Corporations, Bottai. Ibid. p. 20.

capital and labor is still prevalent in varying degrees. The workers, quite naturally, feel that these syndicates and corporations are merely organizations for the purpose of subduing and disciplining them.

On viewing such conditions between capital and labor under Fascism one might be prompted to ask, why don't the workers strike? In democratic countries such a thing might be in order because the threat of strike is the one force the unions can use. However, in all Fascist countries, especially in Italy, the governments have, of course, forseen such situations and have provided for them. They maintain that there is no need for strikes because they have provided organizations for the purpose of settling disputes. At the same time they have passed laws making strikes a criminal offense. Since strikes are illegal the law provides large fines and long imprisonments in the penitentiary for workers who take part in them. Naturally, strikes have almost been eliminated in Italy. The workers are now complying with the government's proposals and plans, but how long will this continue?

In every country in which Fascism has become a reality, generous promises have been made. For once and all Fascism claims that it is going to end the conflict between capital and labor, thus insuring citizens social peace and unity. It also promises a higher standard of living for those within the nation. It promises also to expand the economic life of the

country by creating an economic self-sufficiency and at the same time increasing the foreign trade.

The question now arises, as to whether Fascism is able to meet these promises that have been made? Italian Fascism, after which all other theories of Fascism have been patterned, has solved the conflict between labor and capital --- solved it by refusing to recognize that such conflicts exist and by passing laws restricting labor in such a way that it can not strike! Does this aspect of Fascism meet the promise of social peace and unity? Decidedly yes, but it meets it through violence and suppression and not through trying to solve the difficulties that create such conflicts.

Has Fascism been able to fulfill its promise of a higher standard of living for those within the country? For our example let us turn to Italy, for here Fascism has been the power in control longer than in any other country. What has been the result? The volume of national production has not increased substantially.

> Nor has the standard of living been raised. In 1928, a year of prosperity, the real wages of Italian workers were, according to official statistics, 15% lower than in 1914 and 30% lower than in 1921. In 1930, according to the International Labor Office, real wages in Italy were only two-fifths of those in Great Britain and one-fifth of those in the United States. Although Italy is primarily not an industrial country, more than 1,15 0,000 workers were registered as wholly unemplyed in 1934 and a quarter of a million others were listed as temporarily

unemployed. Italy, moreover, has no unemployment insurance. (23)

Is this so-called "just" order which Fascism has established any different from the old order? Isn't it instead the same old order with slightly different methods? Despite its promises it still favors exploitation. It still remains the same selfish, profit-motivated, greedy society that it was, prior to "the March on Rome". For, while Fascism has advanced the interests of one class, it has made the conditions of the working classes worse.

Every truly Fascist country in the world has urged on its people a doctrine of economic self-sufficiency. In other words such countries cling to the old feudal ideal --- that of possessing all the raw materials so necessary to life within the native state. When a state is so organized, it does not need to rely on the rest of the world. The fallacy existing in the idea of economic self-sufficiency that the Fascist countries fail to recognize is that in a modern age like ours, there is no country that possesses all of the raw materials so necessary to keep the wheels of industry turning within that country. The internal markets of a country are also not large enough to absorb all the goods that such industries could manufacture.

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23. The League for Industrial Democracy, Fascism. (pamphlet) p. 5.

With such an ideal of economic self-sufficiency pushed to an extreme, there are bound to be two results. First, a Fascist country will be forced to find raw materials for its use in industry. These will be obtained either by exchange with other countries or by war in the form of conquest. Since there are no new lands to colonize, this latter policy would, of necessity be a waring one. Second, there is no country that is able to absorb all that it produces, so it must vigorously build up a large export trade --- relying again on those countries of whom they boasted their independence. Such an expansion, promoted by a Fascist power, eventually will demand control over certain markets, or else it will come in contact with other nations who already are controlling certain markets. The likely result of this conflict will be war. Such a promise of economic self-sufficience, as the Fascist countries propose, can never be fulfilled in this day of cooperative dependence which must of necessity exist between nations of the world.

Fascism can never solve the economic problems of the world.

> The reason why it can never permanently succeed, why if the 20th century is to be the Fascist century, it will be a century of bloody war and economic collapse unparalleled in history, in that Fascism refuses to permit men to enter the new era, it refuses to accept the implications of technology. Technology has solved the problem of production. The real problem for the 20th century is the problem of distribution. For this the

profit system has no solution. (24)

Fascism suppliments Capitalism as it moves into one of its stages of decay and deterioration. For it has now been altered to meet the needs of a special class. Capitalism under Fascism becomes a State Capitalism. The inherent evil in Capitalism --- the profit system --- still remains. Although in Fascist countries, revolutions have been affected, they have changed absolutely nothing. The economic systems of the former day, with all of their gross injustices and evils, still remain.

Fascism is interested in perpetuating certain basic institutions, some of them being, private property, individual enterprise and initiative, the political state and small scale business. As a result the Fascists can promise security to the well-to-do and to workers who are making more than a bare subsistence. With such a bid for power it is only natural that the main support for Fascism has come from the great middle class.

> When Fascism first appeared on the scene the lower middle classes were the most active and patriotic supporties of the cause. The unexpected violence of the labor crises of 1919-20 so frightened shopkeepers, small factory-owners, and business men whose financial position was none to secure that they joined the movement in haste and contributed liberally, even frantically, to the fasci. (25)

As the Fascists in Italy gained more power, their attacks

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24. The League for Industrial Democracy, Fascism. p. 6.
25. H. W. Schneider, S. B. Clough, Making Fascists. p.14.

against the big capitalists gradually decreased in intensity because the leaders of the movement found that their finances were coming from these sources. Armed with these funds the Fascists were also assisted by the capitalists in attacking the working class organizations. In fact these "wealthy influentials" assist the government, as we see, in many ways.

> Bankers and profiteers entered the Mussolini cabinet. In the spring of 1925, when his Minister of Finances, De Stefani, imposed certain restrictions on currency speculation, Mussolini went to the rescue of the bankers and brokers and rescinded the restrictions. Big business is safer in Italy under Fascism than it was before the March on Rome. (26)

Since Fascism, as a movement, had its origin in a small group of adventurers and soldiers of fortune, it was formed around an army and not a political party. Its rise to power has been solely of a militaristic type. The discipline enjoyed in all Fascist countries has been rigid in type, like the army discipline. Fascism rules with an iron fist and stands ready to "liquidate" any individual within the country who dares oppose its doctrine.

All Fascist propaganda is nationalistic and loyalistic. Its appeal is to the emotions of its people and the government does not rely on reason or argument. The Fascist government or party is Supreme and all in the country must adhere to it and what it proposes --- or else! Such has been true of the Fascist road to power all over the world in every country in which Fas-

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26. Scott Nearing, Fascism. p. 20.

cism has been germinated.

CHAPTER III

AMERICA --- A FERTILE FIELD FOR FASCISM.

If anyone should tell our staunch brother patriots that America, our "land of the free and the home of the brave" is fast becoming a richer and richer field for Fascism, that person would be regarded as a brilliant hued radical. For there are several (so-called) patriotic groups in America such as the D. A. R.'s and the American Legionairres, who stoutly maintain that "it can't happen here." Such a declaration as this can be due to one of two things, either ignorance on the one hand or wishful thinking on the other hand. Fascism is gradually developing in America. America is fast becoming a fertile field for Fascism because of the contributions from three sources. First, our economic background has contributed; second, our political background has and is contributing, and third our social background is adding its force to the force of the preceeding two contributions.

From the time shortly after our Constitution was ratified, down to 1929, the popular slogan heard frequently at the Chamber of Commerce and similar gatherings was, "Less government in business and more business in government". Members of the strong rising middle class through-out the world, but especially within the United States began singing the praises of individualism. The power of the State had been lessened

and the theory of "laissez-faire" was growing. The freedom of the individual ran its course unchecked and the self-interest of individuals was considered as the driving motivation for all business. In fact, one minister, the Reverend Joseph Morgan, regarded greed of more worth than he did love.

> Each man coveting to make himself rich, carries on the Publick Good: Thus God in His Wisdom and Mercy turns our Wickedness to Publick Benefit.....A Rich Man is a great friend of the Publick, while he aims at nothing but serving himself. God will have us live by helping one another; and since Love will not do it, Covetousness shall. (27)

Those captains of industry, who regarded individualism as their working philosophy of life, wanted the government to have as its only function the protection of their property. In fact many of them gave no thought as to the ethical qualities of their means of gaining wealth, as they seemed to be concerned with one thing only --- the furthering of their own self-interests. The function of government during this period therefore was regarded as that of preserving law and order, thereby safeguarding life and property.

As the twentieth century began, Andrew Carnegie commented on the economic trends of our country in the following manner:

> We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accomodate ourselves, great inequality of environment; the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of the few; and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential to the future progress of

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27. Kirby Page, Individualism and Socialism, p. 5.

the race. (28)

This scion of wealth was paving the way for the future attitude towards the small but controlling wealthy class. In fact he was saying that progress, in terms of production and wealth, was possible only if this small controlling class was left entirely alone. Such a condition should be welcomed on the part of citizens because it was sure to benefit all.

The result of such an attitude of some leaders caused the general attitude of the entire country to be changed. Some even went so far as to say that the government should praise the financial achievements of business men rather than tax them. Henry Hubbard declared that there was no danger from riches by saying,

> No rich man growing richer need feel that he is taking from others, but rather he should rejoice that, as he grows richer, he is necessarily enriching others... The danger from great wealth is purely imaginary. (29)

How characteristic this statement was of millions of Americans of that day!

The splendors of competition and self-interest were magnified by the great mass of American people. Down to that fatal day of October 29, 1929, American business urged the government to adhere to a policy of non-intervention into business.

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28. Kirby Page, Individualism and Socialism p. 5.
29. Loc. Cit.

Such attitudes as these were sure to create definite results. The results have been the abnormal development of industry within the last forty years into huge trusts and monopolies.

> This unusual degree of economic centralization renders much easier and more natural the transition into a control of the national economy by the state in the interests of the monopolists....(30)

This, as has been pointed out in a previous chapter is the essential economic essence of Fascism.

The tremendous economic centralization that we have experienced was due largely to the fact that the government did not interfere too much in business. Business was allowed to create its own standards and determine its own regulations. Naturally, when times were good, such a form of self-government was pleasing to business interests.

However, when our great financial crash came in 1929, business demanded the very opposite from our government. Now, it said, was the time for the government to step in and aid business. Our old economic processes of individualism had failed and now business began to ask the government to come to its assistance. In fact this is exactly what President Hoover and his co-workers tried to do. The Federal Farm Board was given the power of "preventing and controlling surpluses in any agricultural commodity". (31)

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30. League for Industrial Democracy, Fascism. p. 22. (pamphlet).
31. F. L. Allen, Only Yesterday. p. 313.

The Federal Farm Board tried to do this by buying wheat when the wheat market was collapsing. The result was that the Board accumulated nearly two hundred million bushels of wheat and prices fell to an all time low.

Conditions were equally as bad in the industrial world. When the first crash came in 1929, Mr. Hoover came to the rescue of the American people with promises. He urged that wages should not be reduced, and that public works projects should be created to care for the unemployed. He also promised that taxes would be reduced. It was probably with a great deal of personal confidence that he told Congress, in his annual message in December, that, "I am convinced that through these measures we have re-established confidence". (32) In fact, close associates of his even went so far as to predict that by the spring of 1930 we would see American business back to its normal level of 1929.

But the treatments of the Administration were not potent enough to overcome this dreadful economic disease. The result was that the President's popularity had reached a new low level by 1931.

For four years Hoover and his cabinet tried, in a rather mild way, to resurrect business. Their results were of no account, at least to the majority of the voting public. The masses of people began to gather together in favor of certain measures. Most all groups were thoroughly agreed to measures of

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32. Ibid. p. 340.

state intervention. And to accomplish this end, Roosevelt was elected.

Mr. Roosevelt has expressed no social philosophy, nor has he what one might call a planned economy, however his chief duty, as he has often expressed it, is to set the old capitalistic machine going again.

> At the same time, he is compelled by the economic exigencies of the situation and by the demand of the people for energetic effective action to attempt a control over industry and agriculture which an earlier capitalism would never have permitted. (33)

For the first time in the history of our country we seem to be moving permanently towards a strong centralized government. In many respects we are witnessing the beginnings of state capitalism. Throughout this New Deal there are some factors that are quite characteristic of all Fascist States.

> There is the encouragement of the concentration of industry found in price-fixing and the elimination of competition; there is a constant intervention in labor disputes and a growing tendency to demand their settlement by governmental agencies in the interests of "harmonious collaboration"; there is the artificial limitation of agricultural production and the paradox of strange starvation in the midst of plenty; there is a definite lowering of the standard of living for many groups due to a more rapid rise in prices than in wages or salaries; and there is the beginning of a state-encouraged invasion of foreign markets, which in the present state of international tension, leads toward the war for which we are already preparing. (34)

However, this is not labeling our New Deal as Fascism nor is it calling our President a Fascist Dictator. It

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33. League for Industrial Democracy, Fascism. p. 22.
34. Loc. Cit.

would be a misnomer to do either of those things. The chief factor that all Americans must notice is that certain economic characteristics of Fascism have developed and are developing in the United States.

Let us now turn and view our political background in the United States to note its contributions.

There are those citizens in America who say that our Federal Constitution is a solemn covenant guaranteeing its citizens their liberties and perpetuating self-government. These same individuals declare that in case any of our rights or liberties, guaranteed under our Constitution, should be tampered with, we have only to rush to the polls and cast our ballots to stop such interferences. A few of these patriots even go so far as to say that the very nature of our Constitution will prevent the development of Fascism in the United States.

It is interesting to note here that shortly after 1787, when Shay's Rebellion was put down, the reactionary forces of that time called a Constitutional Convention. The reactionary forces of that day were comparable to our middle class of today. This Convention was called without any popular order or command by the people and it held all its sessions in secrecy.

The Convention, to hide its real aims, was called to revise the Articles of Confederation. Illegally, it prepared a new constitution: to assure a strong national

> government and limit democracy to protect the opulent minority; said James Madison, against the majority: The Constitution set up an oligarchic government, in which big property would dominate over small, machinery to suppress local uprisings... and national control of the courts and currency to duck the agrarian radicals. (35)

If similar motives should stimulate such action today, it would be dubbed as Fascism by the big public press. Yet back in that day, James Madison maintained that this wealthy minority needed a constitution and a government that would protect them from the majority.

In essence this is exactly the same thing that the theory of individualism sets forth. Individualism wanted nothing more of a political system than the protection of life and property. So we see that, from the beginning, our governmental policies have partly been formed by members of this wealthy minority. In the majority of cases they were motivated by selfish interests. They were concerned with their own development first.

Consequently, when our country finds itself in adverse economic conditions, these same individuals are the first ones who want to change the political theories to suit their needs. They are willing, as a rule, to abandon any or all of their old ideals if this plan will be the savior of their wealth and social position. Such has been the case within the last few years.

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35. Lewis Corey, The Crisis of the Middle Class. p. 93.

In many instances democracy has been blamed for the evils and sins of capitalism. This attitude has caused many of our business leaders to favor the concentration of power in the hands of one man or a few individuals, supposedly serving the best interests of the majority of individuals. Many of these people favor a one-man government because they feel that they can financially better themselves. In past history it is evident that political programs always follow in the aftermath of the country's economic trends. Should our economic condition become greatly improved, we would, in all probability, see a strong movement favoring a return of democracy. The opposite is likewise true, for should economic conditions not improve, we would probably see even a stronger movement favoring a dictatorship. Against such movements it is an impossibility to legislate.

> If there exist in America the economic tendencies and the social tendencies making for Fascism, the political instrument will be provided whether it be through a mass movement of "Shirts"; or through an exaltation of the Presidential authority,or through a combination of the two. (36)

We have just made an attempt to show that both the economic and the political conditions are closely aligned and it seems that as the former rises or falls the latter follows this trend by altering its system to meet the economic needs of the controlling class.

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36. League for Industrial Democracy, Fascism. p. 23. (pamphlet)

If we turn to the social background of America, and view the developments especially within the last ten years, we will find that these developments have aided in making America a fertile field for Fascism. We have seen, earlier in the treatise, the reasons that tended to make the middle-class of Italy receptive to Fascism, and we now see that some of these same factors are already present here in America. American sentiment seems to accept Fascism on the one hand and violently oppose Communism on the other hand.

> Many of our newspapers and periodicals, including the Saturday Evening Post, praise Fascism and Mussolini. They look on the Duce, his technique, his power psychology, as a great example for the rest of the world. In Boston some of the wealthy have framed portraits of Mussolini in their drawing rooms. Our captains of finance and our Ambassadors return from Italy glorifying the Italian Dictator. (37)

There must surely be reason for the development of such a social sentiment.

Prior to the crash in 1929, we have seen that our country, as a whole, accepted individualism. Individual rights, whether they be business rights or personal rights, were sacred. Each person was a self-unit within himself and was allowed to develop his own selfish interests unchecked. Such a philosophy had its effect on the people. The result of this philosophy was that we saw an increasing number of small businesses and manufacturing enterprises springing up all over our land. This

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37. Jerome Davis, Contemporary Social Movements. p. 518.

meant that we were getting, over a period of ten to twenty years, an increasingly larger number of middle class individuals. The children of farm tenants and clerks and workers were pushing themselves, either through education or aggressiveness, up into the merchant and professional classes. Thus we had just before the crash a larger group of middle class citizens than we had ever had before. When the crash did come we saw thousands of these small businesses go into bankruptcy because of lack of capital to tide them over the hard time. Within the past eight years the super-organization of chain stores, together with the competition they offer, has driven more small business men into bankruptcy. However this class of ambitious small business men and shop owners, although now returned to either managers of chain stores or workers in larger factories, were not satisfied, and it was this group who had once tasted the privileges of the middle class, that were willing and even anxious for some sort of government control which might return to them those much-sought-after and now lost privileges.

The farmers had likewise been affected by the crash, for their suffering had been similar to that of the middle class merchants and professional people. For four years the farmer borrowed money on his land, if he was a land-lord or owner, to raise crops which did not bring him enough to pay his loans. It was then that the small land-lords or owners were forced, by forclosures, to give up their land just as the

small business men and shop owners had been forced to sell their businesses in order to meet their bills.

Thus we have, not only a middle class that would take orders from any "Man of the hour" who might promise them security and returned privileges, but we have also a farming class with a social background of pioneering individualism, yet willing to forfeit some of that individualism in order to tast again that lost ownership of land and return of social and economic privileges which come with ownership.

Our big financiers and industrialists are contributing in their own unique way to the social development of Fascism. As always has been the case, many of these financial wizards cannot see or think beyond the profits that that they are going to gain tomorrow. They sing the praises of individualism and urge Americans to return to the old working theory of Laissez-faire capitalism. However, in case our economic condition should not improve, and should our government be forced to even enlarge its control of industry we should see the same form of business dictatorship that is now prevalent in England. If this should fail we would, in all probability, see these same group of rich industrialists subsidizing a "shirt movement" and begin to prepare the United States for Fascism. The wealthy class of Germany and Italy went through these same phases in the development of Fascism, thus it would not be a new trend here.

Thus, having noted the contributions from our economic,

political and social backgrounds that tend to make America a fertile field for Fascism, let us now turn to see what developing agencies of Fascism there actually are at present in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPING AGENCIES OF FASCISM IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1929

If we have partially set forth the belief that the social, economic, and political inheritance of the American people have not only made it possible, but highly probable, that Fascism can come to the United States; it should be in order to see what the actual developing agencies for Fascism have been, in the past, and, are now existing in the United States.

It is a historical fact that there are several major agencies that have contributed to the growth of Fascism in the United States, especially since 1929. With some of these agencies, Fascism has been very marked and distinquishable. With other agencies the evidences of Fascism have been covered up under a vast subterfuge. At any rate, both types of these developing factors are at work.

The first of these agencies that has contributed to the growth of Fascism in this country is the Ku Klux Klan. John Moffatt Mecklin wrote a book in 1924, entitled, The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind. The Klan was undoubtedly an excellent study of the American mind at that time. The history of the movement shows us that there were two Klans seperated by almost fifty years. Perhaps there was a need for the first movement to combat the tyrannical and heartless rule of the

carpet baggers from the North. If there was this need for the first Klan movement, it reflected, in all probability, the mind of the American people of that day. However we are concerned with the present Klan movement. If it reflects the mind of the American people of today, then that mind is decidely Fascist.

Our present Klan movement arose in 1915 after the World War had begun in Europe.

> On Thanksgiving night of 1915, William Joseph Simmons and thirty or forty of his friends gathered on the top of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Georgia, and took an oath of allegiance to the "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan". (38)

The membership in this new Klan movement was limited wholly to Protestant, white native Americans. Other than such requirements for membership, no other purposes of the organization have ever been discovered. The reader must remember that Catholicism is in a decided minority in the Southland. In fact there are only a very few thousand Catholics in Georgia, the dominant religion in that state being Protestant and those adherents being chiefly Baptists and Methodists.

About 1920, the Klan began to spread like "wild-fire" throughout the South. It seems as though Colonel Simmons brought into the organization with him, two high-pressure publicity agents, Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler and Edward Young Clarke. Evidently these glib-tongued agents had learned much in the way

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38. F. L. Allen, "K.K.K.", Digest, p. 15, October 9, 1937.

of raising funds during the war for they soon began putting their talents to use.

> They divided the country into Domains, which were subdivided into Realms. Simmons went by the title of Imperial Wizard; Clarke, as his chief organizer, became Imperial Kleagle; the Domains were put in charge of Grand Goblins, and the Realms in charge of King Kleagles. Local organizations were known as Kleagles. ...As for the commercial trimmings, it cost a man $ 10 to join the Klan; of this amount the local Kleagle took $ 4, his King Kleagle took $ 1, the Grand Goblin higher up took 50 cents, and $ 4 was handed on to headquarters in Atlanta (of which the Imperial Kleagle apparently was allotted $ 2.50). In short, the pickings were good all along the line. It was well worth one's while to become a Kleagle and sign up new members. And as for the men at the top, their winnings were potentially tremendous, even without taking into account the possible profits of the Gate City Manufacturing Company, which sold uniform robes at $ 6.50 apiece. (39)

The only purpose evidenced for the existence of such an organization, seemed to be that of making outrageous fortunes for the men at the top. Of course those who were solicited to join the Klan were told that they were joining an organization of 100 % Americans --- an organization that would protect America for Americans. Yes, protect it, but against what?

The Klan was anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti-alien, but were the Catholics, Negroes, Jews and aliens destroying America? Although many who joined the Klan did not exactly feel that these forces were destroying America, they did feel though that our country should be a place of white supremacy. In other words, while some of these Klan

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39. Loc. Cit.

members did not want to violently molest the Negroes, Catholics, aliens and Jews, they did feel that they should teach them their place in our society. The time following the war was especially suitable for such organization. Such as organization with "Kleagles, Wizards, and Goblins, professing a strong one hundred percent patriotism" was especially appealing to the ignorant, bigoted and suspicious. It was quite easy to persuade some small-town merchants that their businesses were failing because of the business activities of such forces as are mentioned above. Consequently it appealed to many.

At the same time the Klan is credited with ruining many businesses whose proprietors would not place the Klan sign, TWK (trade with klansmen), in their show windows. Of course to obtain such a sign one had to be a member of the Klan.

Due to an investigation, started by the New York World, Simmons and Clarke were retired from office and a Texas dentist by the name of Hiram Wesley Evans was elected as the Imperial Wizard. During the 1920's the total membership of the Klan was estimated at from four to five millions. When the depression of the '30's set in this membership declined to almost nothing. However the loyal and faithful Klansmen, chiefly the office holders, still retained their membership.

In 1934 and 1935 Dr. Evans tried to revive the Klan. By this time the hatreds against many of the Negroes of the South had worn off and the hatreds against the Catholic, Jew and alien had lessened to a considerable extent. This time

the Klan had a new arch-enemy --- Communism. One hundred percent Americanism is necessary to ward-off our new evil enemy ---Russian Communism, asserted the Klan leaders. In 1934, Dr. Evans issued the following call:

> Public-spirited people, Klansmen and non-members alike, realize that this nation is in great danger. Because of its record of heroic achievement, the Klan has been called upon by them to mobilize and coordinate those who are interested in preserving the Constitutional Government set up by our forefathers. (40)

The amazing fact about this call is that to this day the "public-spirited people" who called upon the Klan "to mobilize and coordinate those who are interested in preserving the Constitutional Government" have never been made know to the public. It is highly probable though that these "public-spirited people" are none other than Dr. Evans and his group of followers. It would be highly profitable to them if the Klan were called together again to defend anything, since they would stand to gain huge fortunes by such a defense.

It is true that the Klan has never fully controlled the United States Government. However, it has at one time or another dominated the governments of Arkanses, Texas, Oklakoma, Oregon, California, Indiana and Ohio. At varying times, these states, governmental rule was practically synonymous with Klan rule.

But what is there about the Ku Klux Klan that corresponds

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40. Editorial article, "The Klan Rears Its Head Again", The Literary Digest, p. 18. July 21, 1934.

in certain ways to Fascism?

> The Klan believes in white supremacy; so does Fascism. The Klan was attractive because of its mysterious power --- it inflicted secret whippings at night on those who opposed its tenets. Similarly, Fascism has had its strong-armed squads, its whippings, and its castor-oil treatments. The Klan parades, sallies, and midnight parties provided an outlet for the average American's love of excitement and adventure midst the drab monotony of small-town life. Similarly, Fascism provided excitement, adventure, and the spectacular to soldiers who had returned from a "glorious" war. The Klan undoubtedly furnished compensation to those suffering from an inferiority complex. A great many Americans feel that the full measure of their hopes of achievement has not been fulfilled. The Klan gave them an opportunity to be important, to belong to an organization that was ruling and helping, so they thought, to make America a better place to live in. It provided an outlet for egoism and the sense of importance. Now Fascism undoubtedly plays a similar role in Italy. (41)

Above everything else, the Klan is analogous with Fascism since it believes in persecuting any critics of the Status Quo.

The Klan has nearly always been a middle-class organization. As is characteristic of most middle-class movements, its sympathies point toward wealth and ownership rather than towards equalized incomes and service.

> The average Klansman is far more in sympathy with capital than with labor. There are sporadic instances of workers, generally skilled workers, identifying themselves with the Klan, but the Klan has made no great inroads upon labor, skilled or unskilled. (42)

The significance that we may draw from the Ku Klux Klan in relationship to the possibility of America going Fascist is not

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41. Jerome Davis, Contemporary Social Movements. p. 519.
42. J. M. Mechlin, The Ku Klux Klan. p. 98.

that this same organization will lead out in that direction, for the Ku Klux Klan, as an organization has no particular significance today --- however the fact remains that at one time as many as four to five millions of people, middle-class in nature, were drawn together for the purpose of protecting our democracy against Jew, Catholic, alien and Communist. We also know that this organization was in essence Fascistic in nature. The question we must raise is this. Is the American mind-set, of the lower middle class, composed of farmers, small business men, struggling professional, teaching and even preaching classes, still as suseptible to any such mass movement, whether it be under the guise of the Minute Men, or the Revere Riders? If the mind-set of the Klan bespeaks the mind-set of today's middle class man, we can and in all probability shall go Fascist.

Now we turn to one of the greatest agencies in the world for milding public opinion, the public press. The printed matter in our daily newspapers determines what a vast majority of individuals think and believe. Thus if the press can ever be loaded with Fascist propaganda it is highly probable that a host of the lower middle class citizens will develop Fascist sympathies. The most important thing is for the Fascist groups to gain control of the press.

William Hearst, publisher of a powerful chain of newspapers in America, is considered by educators to be a Fascist force or at least the chief mouthpiece for the Fascist forces in

this country. This genius, for he is a genius in one way, forms the opinions and beliefs for millions of average Americans. Throughout the years he has developed a control of the most important agencies for molding public opinion.

> Besides his chain of twenty-three newspapers, Hearst owns six magazines in America and two in England. One of the magazines in this country, the American Weekly, has a circulation of more than 5,500,000. In addition, he owns the International News Service, the Universal News Service, and the Kings Feature Syndicate.
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> The publisher also operates five radio stations in connection with his newspapers. His business interests extend to the motion picture industry in which he controls Hearst Metrotone Newsreel and Cosmopolitan Productions, Incorporated. He is also said to have the controlling stock in Warner Brothers Picture Corporation. (43)

With such a "lion-share" in the most important agencies that do determine the beliefs of people --- the press, radio, and screen --- this man can mold the opinions of a great mass of people.

William Randolph Hearst was born into a wealthy family in California. His father, former United States Senator George Hearst, sent his son east for his schooling. After a short time, St. Paul's School expelled him "for the good of the school" because of his actions. Later he was enrolled in Harvard but only to soon leave there "for the good of the school". Then the father turned over to young$ William Randolph the San Francisco Examiner. This occurred in 1887 and since that time Hearst has become the largest newspaper publisher in the world. (44)

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43. James Casey, Hearst, Labor's Enemy No.1. (pamphlet) p. 17.

44. Ibid. p. 4.

He has continued to expand his thirty-four million dollar estate left him by his father through his newspapers and investments.

Hearst is closely associated with the large Wall Street interests. He keeps in close contact with the Morgan and Rockefeller interests and most certainly reflects the opinions of the "Street" in his editorials. He is an upper-class personage in the extent that he exertes influence and power because of his immense wealth. Besides being a newspaper publisher and investor he is also a big industrialist.

> He inherited shares in the San Luis Mining Company at San Dimas, Mexico, the Ophir Carbonero Minerals Corporation of Nevada, Anaconda Copper Company (Morgan interest) and Homestake Mining Company in South Dakota. Homestake is known as the world's richest gold producer today. Its profits jumped to new highs when the United States went off the gold standard. (45)

Hearst's financial business associate is none other than A. P. Giannini, a director as well as one of the largest stockholders in the National City Bank (one of the largest Morgan institutions).

Hearst's chief attorney, John Francis Neylan, was also elected a director of the National City Bank in 1933. He is besides this, the largest stockholder in the Hearst newspaper enterprises; and also the former national commander of the American Legion, Frank N. Belgrano, Jr., is closely associated with Hearst and with the assistance of the Legion aided Hearst in his Red-baiting campaign.

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45. Ibid. p. 17.

> This man, Belgrano, is vice-president of the Bank of American National Corporation, which, in turn, is controlled by Giannini, the business associate of Hearst and Morgan. Belgrano is also president and director of the American Security Insurance Corporation, vice-president and director of the Pacific National Fire Insurance Company, and a director of the Accidental Life Insurance Company. All these companies are controlled by Hearst's business associate, Giannini. (46)

It becomes clear then from such a financial tie-up with the largest moneyed interests in the country the reason why Hearst acts as the chief "loud-speaker" of the Fascist forces in this country. However the Hearst publications are not the only ones disseminating Wall Street propaganda. The Associated Press, which serves about 1600 other capitalist dailies has as its president a director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Frank P. Noyes. In 1933, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., was elected vice-president of the Associated Press. On this same board are representatives of the Rockefeller and Morgan interests. The United Press has on its governmental board representatives of these same large financial interests. The president of this board is none other than Roy P. Howard. Mr. Howard is also president of the World Telegram. It was the World Telegram that on April 15, 1935, carried a front page editorial that practically asked for fascistic rule.

> The time has come for the President to crack down. The people need and want personal leadership. Our people will not in group circles indefinitely. We have respected the President's patience and his tolerance....We have understood the necessity for some

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46. Ibid. pp. 17-18.

> resort to political strategy. But we believe the time has come to lay aside the fly-swater and use the club. (47)

Many of the capitalist newspapers in American are either knowingly or unknowingly working with Hearst. The reason is that these newspapers receive much of their news from agencies that are either Hearst-controlled or those that are greatly influenced by him.

Throughout the years Hearst has tried to present himself to his readers as a man who is mainly concerned with their interests. He has been interested in working for "the common good" as he terms it. But the question, whose common good, his or the American people's?

In the 1890's the people of California were protesting the unusually high railroad fares charged by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Hearst championed the cause of the people and through his San Francisco Examiner blasted away at the railroad company. His circulation jumped almost over night and he was hailed as the leader of the common cause. Suddenly his attacks ceased on the railroad company. The reason he stopped his violent attack on the railroad company was not immediately known. Later it was discovered that Hearst had made a contract with the railroad company. He agreed to quit condemning the company and was to receive a gift of 1,000 dollars a month for twenty-two months. In other words he sold out to big finance. He received $22,000, a greatly enlarged circulation

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47. Ibid. p. 18.

and left the people of California, who were depending on him, utterly flat.

A similar situation occurred some years later in Chicago. This time it was nainly the working class that was protesting against the high rates charged by the local gas company. Hearst took up the fight with his Chicago American. The circulation of the Chicago American steadily grew larger and larger. Then suddenly the crusade against the gas company was halted without any explanation to the readers. None was needed because the gas company at once began to advertise heavily in the Chicago American.

One of the most unusual things about this man's life is the fact that he has not always had the plutocratic tendencies that he now possesses. In his early days when he first took over the San Francisco Examiner he was a true Jeffersonian Democrat. He believed all that a true Democrat should believe. Although he was a business man with various business interests he was interested in the radical program of the Democrats.

> So that the fresh rediscovery of his business connections today, which make him appear all the more sinister as a Fascist, really is not so pertinent. He has not gone Fascist because he is a business man, but because he is plumbing a Fascist potentiality in the lower middle class. That class is going Fascist; a generation ago it was Jeffersonian.(48)

It must be remembered though that during this man's lifetime the entire economic pattern of our country has been chang-

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48. R. G. Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism. p. 138.

ed. Although there was perhaps a time when William Randolph Hearst did not stand to lose anything by crying out against conditions as they were, today, he and his associated stand everthing to gain by keeping still unless the "status-quo" is threatened. In case our political program and theories are changed one can rest assurred that Hearst and his crowd will manage to land their influence in order that conditions might be changed to financially better themselves. Indications of the past point to this.

Hearst has always used his papers to reflect and to build a wholesame attitude toward business. The following editorial which he cabled his newspapers from Wales in the summer of 1935 reflects this idea. This "genius" who once campaigned for the governorship of New York on the platform of government ownership "to restore to the people everything the corporations have stolen from them", now reflects an entirely opposite view in this editorial.

> Let us encourage our (business) leaders instead of abusing them. Our great industrialists did a good job once.
> They can do it again.
> The politicians cannot help business.
> They can hamper it.
> What do they know about business?
> Would we put any of them in charge of our private business? Lord save us, no!.
> They are nearly all in politics because they cannot earn a living at anything else.
> They have nearly all tried other lines of activity and have failed...
> The politicians, the professors, the failures, the cranks, the visionary theorists, the unpractical experimentalists, are all ready to tell the able and experienced business men of the country how to run their

individual business and the business of the country. Think of it! (49)

Thus we see that Hearst has changed considerably since the time when he proposed returning to the people their stolen wealth at the expense of the corporations. He is now an admirer of the business leaders, praising them for their craftyness.

> Today, Americanism in Hearst's dictionary has a startingly different meaning; it has become American to suppress ideas and to admire Mussolini and Hitler. It is no longer American to battle the now mature giant of finance capitalism which Hearst for all fis furious expenditure of energy could not kill in its youth. (50)

When the depression came in our country, along with it came the beginning of widespread unrest. The masses began to protest of their low status in American life and workers entered picket lines to ask for higher wages. To Hearst, these signs were not the result of an American depression, they were the seeds of Russian Communism being sown on Smerican soil and among American workers. Since 1934, Hearst has been engaged in printing propaganda in his newspapers against Soviet Russia and the recognition of Russia by the United States. Some of this propaganda has actually been proven to be spurious. Even so this has not changed Hearst's hatred toward Russia. Concerning the San Francisco strike in 1934 his own papers wrote (July 17):

> It is not a struggle between the militia and the rioters of the San Francisco waterfront. It is a struggle

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49. Ibid. pp. 140-141.
50. Ibid p. 141.

> between society and the forces that would disrupt society. The Communist leaders who are at the bottom of the disorder and its real source, should be spotted, identified and arraigned. San Francisco and California should be rid of their presence. (51)

When the strike was finally beaten by California by applying fascist methods and abandoning the purely American liberties, Hearst declared the strike had been won "In The Right Way --- On The Right Note --- On The True Principles". (52)

It was shortly after this California shipping strike had occurred that Hearst began lashing out against what he called the "Communistic tendencies in our government". In signed editorials that swept over the country (August 15, 1934) Hearst had this to say concerning our President and his government, "I wish our good President would get rid of his revolutionary Communist advisers and unpractical un-American experimentalists" (53) Evidently Hearst was violently opposed to the forms that President Roosevelt was using to regulate business in his attempt to steer us out of the depression. If the governmental methods of regulating business contradicted the business methods of Hearst, it was easy for Hearst to direct public attention to these actions and label them as Communistic.

In the fall of 1934 Hearst left for a visit to Germany, presumably to "Take a water cure". There was held a series of conferences between Herr Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's Foreign

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51. Ibid. p. 144.
52. Ibid. p. 145.

Office spokesman, and Hearst. Letters were exchanged between these two and Hearst was allowed to publish these. Then Hearst met Hitler and had a long talk with him. There are some who say that Hearst made a big business deal with the Nazi government. At any rate we know that he reached such an understanding with the Nazis that all German newspapers must now buy all of their foreign news from Hearst's own International News Service. "Under this agreement" says James Casey, "Hearst is to recieve 1,000,000 marks a year". (53)

It is not possible to say whether this visit of Hearst's to Germany affected his philosophy of life very much. However he had this to say in an interview upon landing, September 28, 1934.

> The fascist party of Italy was organized to quell the disturbances and disorders of communism. The fascist party of Germany was organized for the same purpose. It was intended to and very likely did prevent Germany from going communist and cooperating with Soviet Russia. This is the great policy, the great achievement which makes the Hitler regime popular with the German people, and which enables it to survive very obvious and very serious mistakes. (54)

Later in a letter to his editors (November 26, 1934) he wrote:

> I do not think there is any actual fascist movement in the United States AS YET. Fascism is definitely a movement to oppose and offset communism, and so prevent the least capable and least creditable class from getting control of the country. Fascism will only come into existence in the United States when such a movement becomes really necessary for the prevention of communism. (55)

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53. James Casey, Hearst, Labor's Enemy No. 1. p. 12.
54. R. G. Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism. p. 148.
55. Loc. Cit.

His letter did not end here though. Instead, it went on and spoke of the proletariat class:

> This class should be the care and concern of the government but government should not be the peculiar concern of this class. Let us preserve democracy. Fascism is government by an opposing class. We do not want class government. We want mass government. (56)

For the benefit of Mr. Hearst, let it be said that Fascism has always been a mass government against the proletariat. That is what is was first in Italy, then in Germany and since then in every other country that has gone Fascist. Evidently, from his letter, he believes in a "mass government" of the wealthy or privileged class. This, Hearst terms "democracy". In actual practice it is Fascism!

Hearst is known to have generated a campaign against the Communist "menace" in academic circles. His newspapers described Communists as "the No. 1 public enemies of our country and our people". This was the time when more agents were added to our Department of Justice to rid the country of crime. At this time Hearst sent spies to sit in college classrooms, trying to trap the professors into defensive statements about Russia --- statements that could be published in full or in part in the Hearst newspapers in order to prove to the average reading public that college professors were really teaching Russian Communism. Many colleges and scores of professors protested Hearst's actions by saying that they should have the

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56. Ibid. pp. 149-150.

right of academic freedom. "Academic freedom," wrote Hearst, "is a phrase taken over by the radical proups as a new camouflage for the teaching of alien doctrines". (57)

According to James Casey:

> The Hearst family is now busily engaged in organizing a fascist organization of its own. This organization, initiated under the name of the Junior Birdsmen of America, is already branching out with an auxiliary. This auxiliary is called the Flight Squadron. Membership in the two groups is now being urged by Hearst newspapers in more than twenty of America's largest cities. (58)

The purpose of the "Flight Squadron" may be to teach young Americans to fly, but at the same time that they are learning to fly they are also being taught a strong nationalism and a strong race hatred. At the present time both of these organizations are headed by George Hearst and supported by all the Hearst newspapers.

Hearst and his colleagues have looked to Germany and Italy and have seen that Fascism has acted as a tonic for those two countries. In both countries it was the capitalistic middle class that benefited from Fascism. Labor and the proletariat class gained absolutely nothing. So this newspaper publisher, Hearst, wages war on academic freedom, and at the same time wages war on civil liberties, "alien" ideas and Russian Communism. He also looks to the Fascist countries of Europe and admires them for having suppressed Communism. From all appearances it is evident that the tendencies of William Randolph Hearst are those which lean toward Fascism.

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57. Loc Cit.
58. James Casey, Hearst, Labors Enemy No.1. p. 14.

Turning to another chapter in American life, we see the Huey Long Machine in action in Louisiana during the years of 1934 to 1936. Huey Long proved most certainly that "It can happen here". We know definitely that Huey Long exercised for a period of years, while he was United States Senator, a dictatorship over his home state, Louisana. It was Huey's Statehouse which he had built during his governorship, it was Huey's legislature, it was Huey's State, for even as United States Senator with no official place in the Legislature of Louisana, he put his stamp of approval upon every bill that passed the Ways and Means Committee in the Louisiana Legislature. He was in complete power as much as any King could have been. In fact he was often addressed as "Kingfish" by his subordinates, which although only a nick-name may have refered to his power over them. Long's Machine was powerful and efficient. He always traveled under the protection of a heavy body-guard, proving that he was powerful, and being powerful was therefore hated. Huey also employed violence to subject those who attempted to cross him.

As a man Huey Long was loud, emotional, impulsive, crude, profane, strenuous, ruthless, and domineering. If we care to draw an analogy between Huey and the European dictators, we find the he is lacking in that he appears less like a good father and more like a grown-up bad boy, with an extreme lust for power.

Huey Long was dangerous as a dictator because of the fact that by some of his acts, such as reducing taxes, building good roads, encouraging educational improvements, and fighting corporations, he did gain a great following of middle-class people who were willing to put up with his dictatorship in return for these privileges. However we can not consider Huey Long as a person who actually had an interest in the poor people, but rather a man who had been thwarted at certain points in his career by big corporations and by Standard Oil interests, so that we can interpert the quirks in his career, such as his fights against corporations and his insistent hatred of Standard Oil as being a personal grudge rather than the exibition of a social conviction.

Huey's ambition for power and sympathy for working people may be explained by his early background ---

> Implacable resentment underlying his terrific ambition for power marks Huey as the product of a humiliating and harsh childhood. One of nine children in a poor village family, son of a farmer who forced him to work long hours on the farm, he records in his autobiography: "Rising before the sun we toiled until dark, after which we did nothing except eat supper, listen to the whippoorwills, and go to bed." He adds: "My every sympathy has gone out to those who toil". (59)

Being forced to go to church and Sunday School, Huey learned many passages from the Bible, and it is noticable that he used some of these as appealing slogans in his political work. Huey had a taste of poverty, want of privileges, the ambition to

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59. R. G. Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism. p. 85.

push ahead, and those who had possessed these privileges while he had struggled for them Huey determined to punish when he reached the top of the ladder.

In describing him Raymond Swing says,

> Huey, for instance, is not a national socialist, if that title equips him at once with a philosophy of the State as the single dominant expression of the individual. He is a vulgar American politican, who has learned to play the two-fisted, sordid game of vote getting and patronage infinitely better than his opponents. At his worst he is no more unprincipled than they, his sin being that he is more ruthless and successful. At his best he is no social thinker, certainly not as much as either Hitler or Mussolini. (60)

At any rate Huey Long fitted into the picture in Louisiana, with its under-privileged share-croppers, and illiterate negroes. He gave these people the privileges of better roads, better education, and exemption from taxation, and they were willing to give to him a great deal of power which his soul craved. However the poorer classes were not the only ones who accepted Huey Long, for we find that even the professional classes could find something good in his reign. Here is what a young instructor at Louisiana State University said,

> I am troubled, too. There are many things Huey does that I don't approve of. But on the whole he has done a great deal of good. And if I had to choose between him without democracy and getting back the old crowd, without the good he has done, I should choose Huey. After all, democracy isn't any good if it doesn't work. Do you really think freedom is so important? (61)

Are we then wrong to assume that the conditions that existed in Louisiana could not come in any part of our country

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60. R. G. Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism. p. 103.
61. Ibid. pp. 106-107.

and in the nation as a whole. Raymond Swing rightfully says,

> Any assumption in the North that Huey Long is only local phenomenon, a product of conditions not to be duplicated elsewhere, rests on the fallacy that the social picture of Louisiana is unique. The same easy-going mistake is made about those foreign countries, Germany and Italy. One has only to translate conditions in any of these regions into abstractions to see how little external distinctions really matter. Given a land in which the great majority are in want or in fear of it, in which democracy has not produced wise leadership or competent organs to conduct public affairs, in which "big interests" have far more than their share of power, the easiest sacrifice that society seems ready to make, if only its prejudices can be stirred, is of its democratic freedom. (62)

Thus we find that there may possibly be a carry-over from the situation as it existed in Louisiana a few years ago and our present situation, that is, if the conditions are favorable for its development.

There is another voice in our country that cried with Fascist tendencies a few years ago only to be suppressed by the outcome of the last national election. Such a suppression did not last for long for again that voice is taking up the cry and this time with even more decided Fascist tendencies. The voice is none other than that of the radio priest of Royal Oak, Michigan, Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Father Coughlin, born in Canada, began coming to Detroit from Canada in 1921 to preach a weekly sermon. In 1923 he was transferred to the Detroit diocese. It has been an accidental happening that his fame as a radio orator has developed. He

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62. R. G. Swing, Forerunners Of American Fascism. p. 106.

broadcast his sermons and his later afternoon addresses to children, over station W.J.R. of the Detroit Free Press, for four years without bringing himself fame. In 1930 he began to change the nature of his childrens talks. He began to deal with religion, politics, and economics. It was then that he began to get responses from his radio audience and it was also then that he began to see for the first time his own potentialities.

> He engaged time on stations in Chicago and Cincinnati at $1,650 a week. He found the permanent form of his discourse, a rhetorical tirade on political, social, and economic themes, knit together by the social philosophy of the liberal encyclicals of Pius XI and Leo XIII. (63)

Father Coughlin also saw that the way to stimulate replies and questions was to offer a free copy of the discourse. He became a national "radiorator" almost at once. Such a program as he now offerred called for more expansion and he rented time on a sixteen-station hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He advocated the introduction of Christianity into the economic life of our country. Consequently his audiences grew to large numbers including both Catholics and Protestants.

> A discourse on the subject "Hoover Prosperity Means a New War" brought him his largest single response, 1,200,000 letters. Another, in which he nominated Morgan, Mellon, Mills and Meyer as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, brought 600,000 letters. No priest since time began had regularly addressed an

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63. Ibid. p. 39.

audience of such dimensions. (64)

By February, 1934, "Fortune magazine estimated conservatively that his radio audience averages 10,000,000 people each Sunday." (65) By 1935 it was estimated that his weekly radio audience numbered nearly 60,000,000 --- almost half of the population of the United States! There is no doubt that at that time he was the most influential man in the country. Next to Hearst, it was true that he helped to mold a larger percentage of public opinion than anyone else.

In 1931 he was declaring that we had "lost no faith whatsoever" in Hoover. Evidently he sensed the change of the times because he later changed his mind about Hoover and his cabinet. In fact when Roosevelt was nominated, Coughlin supported him 100 per cent. By this time his contract with the Columbia Broadcasting System had expired and they refused to renew it. Nor would N.B.C. sell Father Coughlin any time on the air. However, he wasn't baffled for long. With the help of the Detroit Free Press station, Father Coughlin created his own network. This network embraced eleven stations at first and then twenty-six that reached from Maine to Kansas and cost $14,000 per week! The funds for carrying on such work came from the listeners and "interested friends" in the form of donations.

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64. Ibid. p. 40.
65. A.B.Magil, The Truth About Father Coughlin. p. 3. (Pamphlet)

On November 11, 1934 (Armistice Day), Father Coughlin launched his "National Union For Social Justice". The goal was set at 5,000,000 members for the National Union but was later raised to 10,000,000. By the end of 1935 the membership mark of 10,000,000 had almost been reached. His own statement of principles on which the National Union is based contains sixteen points.

1. Liberty of conscience and education.
2. Just, living, annual wage.
3. Nationalization of important public resourses.
4. Private ownership of all other property.
5. Control of private property for public good.
6. Abolition of Federal Reserve Banking System and establishment of a government-owned Central Bank.
7. Restoration to Congress of its sole right to coin and regulate the value of money.
8. Cost of living maintained on an even keel.
9. Cost of production plus a fair profit for the farmer.
10. Labor's right to organize.
11. Recal of non-productive boards.
12. Abolition of tax-exempt bonds.
13. Broadened base of taxation on basis of ownership and capacity to pay.
14. Simplification of government and lower taxes.
15. Conscription of wealth as well as men in event of war.
16. Sanctity of human rights preferred to sactity of property, with government's chief concern for the poor. (66)

This, then, is the program molded by Coughlin and offerred to his listening masses, a program which millions accepted but never fully understood. Nor does Coughlin understand it as we shall later see. Behind this program though is a man who knows

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66. Social Justice, National Weekly founded by Father Coughlin in 1936.

the fundamentals of "crowd" psychology, a man who knows how to mix religion and politics so that the resultant is highly acceptable to the listening ears.

> In politics, he says, I am neither a Republican, Democrat, nor Socialist. I glory in the fact that I am a simple Catholic priest endeavoring to inject Christianity into the fabric of an economic system woven upon the loom of greed by the cunning fingers of those who manipulate the shuttles of human lives for their own selfish purposes. (67)

There are many throughout the United States who feel that such a party as the National Union is the one factor that is going to save our country from ruin. The significant feature about this program though is this, in not one place is the word democratic government mentioned nor is anything said about the freedom of speech. A just and living wage is mentioned but never has Father Coughlin ever declared what such a wage should include. On the most important points of the program mentioned, Father Coughlin chooses to use general terms, thus seldom committing himself. As a result, many have failed to understand what Coughlin means by justice, fair pay, standards of living, private property, etc. Nor can we say that Father Coughlin knows exactly what he means by the use of those terms judging from the rapidity that he has changed his mind concerning them.

When the time came for the last Presedential election, in 1936, Father Coughlin evidently felt that he had enough follow-

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67. R.G.Swing, Forerunners Of American Fascism. p. 45.

ers to warrant his participation in politics. He decided that his Social Union would back Lemke instead of Roosevelt and the sixteen points of Social Justice would be used as a party platform. It is almost needless to say that Father Coughlin and those he supported never even reached their goal: In the first place what could such a party platform offer? If Father Coughlins candidate had won the election how would these sixteen articles of Social Justice have been put into effect?

The political program that was designed to accomplish these ends was certainly ambiguous. An editorial in the Christian Century had this to say concerning it: "It proposes to establish social justice without making any basic changes in the present scheme of economic and industrial production". (68) Perhaps Father Coughlin expected a miracle to occur sometime in the night that would make his program of Social Justice an actuality.

The great working class and the lower-middle class failed to remember, when they joined his movement, that his aim was and is to preserve our capitalistic system. His attitude regarding this has never changed since he first made it known in a radio speech on November 23, 1930. He then declared:

> The Catholic Church stands four-square behind the capitalist, although it dares condemn the abuses which have grown around him. When his voice is silent and weak, and his hands unclean, we will confront the Communist and Socialist in his defense --- and, if

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68. Editorial, Chrsitian Century. March 13, 1935. p.327.

necessary die in defending the Constitution under which he gained his wealth. (69)

When the votes were counted, the party that Father Coughlin was nursing along was sadly defeated. Fortunately, the members of the Social Union were wise enough --- even if unconsciously so --- not to vote for the Social Union candidate, Lemke. Such an over-whelming defeat seemed, at least at that time, to mark the end of Father Coughlin's radio career. The following Sunday afternoon he sang his "swan song" to those Social Union followers of his who had not followed him. For some time no more was heard on political or economic views from Royal Oak, Michigan. For a few years this radio priest "retired" from radio. He confined himself to preaching in his own parish and writing. In 1936, he founded a national weekly, called Social Justice, and during his "retirement" contributed heavily to this magazine.

However, January 1, 1938, marked a new era in Father Coughlin's life. He decided to again take to the air. Again he began by mixing religion and politics but this time apparently spending more time on politics. His attacks upon Roosevelt and the New Deal were at times, sharp.

On Sunday afternoon, March 13, 1938, Coughlin addressed his audience on "The Corporative State". In this address he declared that "some reorganization is necessary for a system of

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69. A. B. Magil, The Truth About Father Coughlin. pp. 6-7. (pamphlet)

government which fails to govern". He quoted a letter of Amos Pinchot to President Roosevelt in which Mr. Pinchot asked the President to abandon his Reorganization Bill because it tended to create a dictatorship. Father Coughlin, after reading this letter said, "I both agree and disagree with Mr. Pinchot".

> I am convinced that no single human being has been born intelligent enough and powerful enough to direct peacefully and prosperously the citizens and destinies of this vast nation. I can conceive of a successful dictator in a small state such as Rhode Island, or possibly, in a small nation such as Italy or Austria. (70)

Even though Coughlin can conceive of a dictatorship in a smaller state he says that he can't imagine one in the United States. However in the following pages of his speech he proceeded to outline his own plan of reorganization, because he recognized that "bitter experience now forces us to the conclusion that the personnel of government is not so much to blame as is the system of government". (71) Such changes as he proposed were to be carried out under our Constitution and should be concerned not only with the Presidency and Congress but also with the governments of the various counties and states.

In his reorganization plan for our government, he first of all urged that we abandon the party system of government thus dividing the voters of America into groups according to vocations and professions. This would mean of course that a

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70. Rev. C.E.Coughlin, "The Corporative State", Radio Speech delivered March 13, 1938.
71. Loc. Cit.

new method of electing our Representatives would have to be inaguarated. This he proposed to do by instituting the system of the corporate state election. Citizens would be divided according to their classification in society; steel workers would form one class, textile workers another and so on. Each class would elect their Representative to Congress and such an election would be representative. Then the owners of the industries would elect a Representative of their own choosing. Such an election system would do away with class antagonism declared Coughlin. Such a Corporate State would mean "capital for labor and labor for capital working in harmony". (72)

Coughlin further maintained that we should abandon the electoral college and transfer the power of electing the President to the House of Representatives with its class representatives. Such a President will be chosen by the House from among their own members or someone outside.

The Senate should include, says Coughlin, two senators elected from each state, one to represent capital and one to represent labor. This body will be presided over by the Vice-President who will also be Secretary of Corporations. Thus this office is in supreme authority over all class corporations in America. All legislation must originate in the House and must be passed on by the Senate. Besides this, "the Senate will influence collective agreements between labor and capital and will

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72. Loc. Cit.

promote diligently all corporative training agencies for every classification of citizen". (73)

I hardly believe that we need go any further with Father Coughlin's reorganization plan for our government to see that it is almost identical with the system of government now functioning in Italy --- in fact, so similar that both governments would have the same names for various branches. Such a state, Coughlin declares, would be "free from the domination of capitalism and party-ism; free from bigotry and racial hatreds". (74)

He proposed that Congress should be a partner in finally settling all disputes arising between capital and labor which the corporations did not settle themselves. "In every sense, Congress shall protect private property and shall endeavor to multiply private ownership". (75) It is only natural, at least with such an attitude as this, that Father Coughlin is against strikes and lockouts and regards them as being absolutely unnecessary. Every good Fascist, in both Italy and Germany, who is in favor of corporations regards strikes in the same light as does Father Coughlin.

Coughlin went even further to say that the germs for such proposals as he was making could be found in our present Constitution. Although this might be true, the resultant disease would be almost identical with that in Italy today.

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73. Loc. Cit.
74. Loc. Cit.
75. Loc. Cit.

In theory, the government Coughlin proposed through his reorganization plan is the same as that which is in power in Italy today. The only difference would probably be that of name.

The following Sunday his radio "sermon" dealt with "Taxation Through Misrepresentation". The first half of this address dealt with a criticism of the reorganization bill pending in Cangress and the contributions that Senator Burton Wheeler had made to defeat the bill. In the second half he criticized the methods of taxing the citizens. This caustic criticism reached its climax on the following Sunday, March, 27, 1938.

This day Father Coughlin devoted his entire speech to the reorganization bill as it was pending in Congress. He spoke of it as a "Dictator Bill" and urged his listeners to do everything in their power to defeat it. He urged that they write, wire or call their Senator telling him not to support this bill. The telegrams and messages that resulted from that broadcast were so thick that the telegraph offices in Washington could not handle them all. In later speaking of this address hd has this to say:

> In years to come you can refer to Sunday, March 27, and the broadcast on the reorganization bill which prompted more than 100,000 telegrams to flood the Senate. (76)

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76. Open Letter by Father Coughlin, Social Justice, April 18, 1938.

However, such a response did not seem to help the situation because the bill passed the Senate by a narrow margin. It had to be then referred back to the House, and it was now that Father Coughlin began clearing the decks for action.

The following Sunday he continued his harangue against the "spirit" of the reorganization bill and urged even stronger measures to stop its passage than he had before. He maintained that every loyal and patriotic newspaper editor and publisher should rally to his aid to help preserve American liberties. This worked and William Randolph Hearst did come to his assistance. For the next week he carried a special box at the top of all his papers with this hearline in it," Guard Your Liberties! Instruct Congressmen by Wire or Letter". The box then continued to say,

> The government Reorganization Bill, which would authorize the President to reorganize the executive and departmental structure of the Federal Government WITHOUT SUBMITTING HIS PROPOSALS TO CONGRESS, is before the House of Representatives for action. This bill imposes autocractic powers in the President, and virtually creates a dictatorship.
>
> It radically changes our form of constitutional and representative government, and means practically the death of American democracy.
>
> It should be defeated.
>
> Telegraph or write your congressman in the House of Representatives IMMEDIATELY,telling him to vote against the Reorganization Bill, which so vitally affects your interests and your liberties. (77)

Father Coughlin did not stop at this point however. He

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77. Front Page, Boston Evening American, April 7, 1938.

went on to say that in every section of the country, "Paul Revers" groups should be organized to go in person to Washington and interview their Congressmen, petitioning him, with a list of our voters, not to support the reorganization bill. His suggestion carried enough support that groups were immediately formed "to ride on Washington". Following the arrival of the Massachusetts special "Paul Revere" train the following telegram was received by the delegation from Father Coughlin:

> Thank God, you arrived with many Paul Reveres, who are in Washington today to duplicate the history which made such names as Lexington and Concord immortal.
> It will be necessary to ride over many rough roads to reach your destiny. However, carry on in the name of liberty. (78)

The effect of these "Paul Revere" groups on their representatives was tremendous. Evidently many were either afraid of this radio priest or else their constituency, because when the vote was counted it favored pigeon-holing the bill for the remainder of this session by a vote of 204-196. By a scant margin, Father Coughlin's radio listeners won again.

Following the bill's defeat, he said in a telephone conversation with the Boston Evening Transcript:

> This is a victory of the American people. Definitely the tide of dictatorship has turned away from the shores of America. Definitely we are at the dawn of a better and more prosperous day.
> The spirit of our founding fathers has been revived and Paul Revere's soul goes marching on in the persons of millions of aroused citizens who have spoken through their representatives for the preservation of our constitutional form of government.

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78. Boston Evening American, April 7, 1938.

> Once more I repeat, this is a people's victory --- a patriots' victory --- and once more the citizens of Massachusetts have played a most prominent part. God bless every one of them! (79)

The following Sunday afternoon he discussed the defeat of the bill and thanked his listeners that they came to the rescue and saved America from the throes of a dictator.

What is there about Father Coughlin that makes him such a contributing force towards Fascism in the United States today? Can we say that his program is entirely Fascist? Is it his method of bringing about his desired end? I am inclined to think that it is a little of both.

There are times when the program that he offers is Fascistic and other times his program seems to not be Fascistic. Such, in my opinion, is his own reorganization of government that I have outlined before. Father Coughlin has always favored capital in place of labor. This is evidenced in his attitude towards private property and towards strikes. Although his "16 principles for Social Justice", which are the basis for his Social Union, are liberal, he has never truly defined them. There is no one that can tell us exactly what he means by each and every one of them. He has been known to change his own meaning of them from week to week.

Father Coughlin is certainly not in favor of academic freedom, nor is he in favor of freedom of speech or assemblage.

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79. Boston Evening Transcipt, April 9, 1938.

At least, not in favor of them for anyone else except Father Coughlin. In a speech of October 28, 1934, he denounced Communism and strongly urged that "steps be taken to mop up its breeding places". (80) Here he insinuated that many of our colleges and universities acted as these "breeding places". Later in a press conference on December 4, 1934, Father Coughlin praised Hyde Park, London, as a place where one was allowed to express his own views regardless of what those views were. When later asked by one of the reporters if he would favor that Grand Circus Park in Detroit, should be used as a similar safety valve, he replied, "No I wouldn't favor that". (81) In a lecture on January 22, 1935, somebody raised the question; "How shall we know how to vote in the elections?". "That's my job to tell you", was Father Coughlin's reply. (82)

From the way that Father Coughlin sways audiences over the radio and in his Thursday lectures, one almost has to come to the conclusion that what he loves above all else is --- Power. He wants to be a leader of the masses, he wants to direct them in their daily lives. To this end he directs all of his energies. In any other country he would be hailed as a dictator, but in the United States, mainly because he stands in the shadow of the Catholic Church, he is regarded as a "radio orator", a molder of public opinion.

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80. A. B. Magil, The Truth About Father Coughlin.. p. 28.
81. Ibid p. 36.
82. Ibid p. 37.

Already in the United States, as in other countries, there are uniformed, drilling organizations whose very nature and purposes are a decided threat of Fascism in our country. We should allow these organizations the right to carry on their propaganda, provided they use the legal methods as other organizations. However, we necessarily have to oppose their goals and methods they use to gain their desired ends. Many of them as we shall see, seek by force to arouse racial and religious prejudices.

Of all the "Shirt Movements", perhaps the most well-organized, if not the largest, is the movement of the German-American Nazis. These Nazis, in their foreign uniforms, have various places of encampment in the United States

The chief factor that has helped to add more members to this organization was the movement launched in 1932 to boycott German-made goods. While such a boycott never became offical it did provide a rallying point for Nazi symapthizers in the United States. A counter boycott spread rapidly among the German sections of the large estern cities, especially in certain sections of New York and Hoboken. This movement was known as the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Wirtschafts Ausschluss. Several Shops, of German sympathies, immediately began displaying the emblem of the movement, a German eagle with DAWA across it.

> The shopkeeper pays $5 and more a year, depending on the size of his establishment, for the right to display the emblem. The official guide, for distribution to consumer members, who pay $1 a year and wear the emblem as a coat-lapel button, lists 750 establishments in the New York metropolitan area. It was to boost DAWA that the mass demonstration in Madison Square Garden in May (1934) was organized. (83)

Outbursts of violence and sporadic street fighting both followed and preceeded this meeting in Madison Square Garden. This is evidently an indication that many "average Americans" are by no means in sympathy with this Brown Shirt Movement from across the water.

Organizers of this Nazi movement maintain they have several objectives, among them:

> an American Nazi Movement that will some day seize power and establish a Fascist State; allegiance to and defense of the Hitler Movement in Germany; elimination of Jews from political, financial and industrial activity in the United States. (84)

Needless to say, such an organization with these objectives can find plenty of pro-German sympathizers who will join its ranks. Many such members have been found among the second and third generation Germans, especially in New York and New Jersey.

On March 20, 1934, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution to investigate "Nazi and other Propaganda". The total amount set aside for this investigation was $30,000. The committee conducted several hearings in several of the major cities of the United States and examined several hundred witnesses. In their report they had this to say:

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83. Travis Hoke, Shirts! p.6. (pamphlet)
84. Ibid p. 5.

> This committee has unearthed evidence showing that an effort to spread the theory of the National Socialist German Labor Party, commonly referred to as the Nazi philosophy, had been under way in the United States for several years. (85)

It was then found that after Hitler came to power that the name of the National Socialist German Labor Party was changed to "The Friends of New Germany".

The evidence further found by this committee showed that propaganda from the German government distributed by these local Nazi units, was in circulation. In July, 1934, "The Friends of New Germany" conducted several "youth summer camps" at different places. At these camps:

> ...the children were taught to recoginize Chancellor Hitler as their leader, to salute him on all occasions, and to believe that the principles of government taught by him were superior to the principles of our government. (86)

At these camps the swastika flag was prominently displayed at the headquarters tent. In the morning and evening this flag was saluted in Nazi style. The man in charge of these camps was an alien whose sole allegiance was to the German Government.

> From the evidence taken by this committee in its investigation of Nazism in the United States it develops that all kinds of efforts and influence, short of violence and force, were used to obtain its desired objective, which was to consolidate persons of German birth or descent, if possible, into one group, subject to dictation from abroad. (87)

When this committee was appointed to investigate the

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85. Report No. 153, House of Representatives, p. 3.
86. Ibid. p. 7.
87. Ibid. p. 9.

Brown Shirts or Storm Troopers, the movement had considerable influence among its constituency. Since this investigation the movements' activities have been considerably lessened. The fact remains though that the leaders of this movement are still endeavoring to build a strong unit of German Storm Troopers in Brown Shirts here in America.

Shortly after Washington's Birthday, 193[illegible], Life magazine carried a full page picture of Nazi activities in a town in New Jersey, which is one of the Nazi strongholds. Under the picture was the following statement:

> Protesting allegiance to the United States flag is a leitmotiv of all Nazi assemblies in this country. On February 22, the German-American Bund of New Jersey undertook to manifest its patriotism by holding meetings in honor of Washington's birthday. In Hackensack, its members hired a hall, procured a picture of Washington and hung it beside the Swastika. Rev. John C. Fitting, Bund official, spoke hailing Washington as "the first Fascist" and as a "realist" who knew democracy would not work. Bundsman Fitting praised Washington's courage relating that at 15 young George "rode a horse to death because the horse would not give in". (88)

Several times this year, Life magazine has carried pictures showing Nazi life in their various camps throughout the United States. Even though Congressional investigations are carried on, and even state investigations are held such as the one held by Massachusetts, the Movemment still lives and breathes and recruits new members.

88, Life Magazine, February 25, 1938.

Shortly after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, William Dudley Pelley organized the "Silver Shirts" with headquarters at Ashevill, North Carolina. Pelley, the son of a New England Methodist minister, was a writer for such magazines as The American Magazine, Colliers, Good Housekeeping and Red Book. He cast aside this occupation, which netted him almost $25,000 yearly, to start The League for the Liberation. Four years later this launched out as the "Silver Shirts".

Like the Ku Klux Klan, the "Silver Shirts" profess 100% patriotism. They hate Jews, Communism and democracy and feel that a dictatorship is the only true means of government. Under this "super-patriotic" guise they address their appeals to Christians.

> The Silver Shirts have or had at one time an enrolled membership of 75,000 according to McCoy in Today, but Frederic A. Steel in the same magazine says that a speaker at a Silver Shirt "Cohesion Committee" meeting in New York claimed that the membership exceeded in numbers the combined forces of the army and police units of the United States; and The New Republic says they claimed 2,000,000 members. No estimate of the actual membership is possible. (89)

However, we do know that throughout the United States there are thousands of these Silver Shirts. These members, clad in their silver shirts with a scarlet "L" on their left shoulder, their blue corduroy knickers and leggins, meet as a preventive and protective Militia.

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89. Travis Hoke, Shirts, p. 13.

The purpose of this strictly Christian Militia to save America as Mussolini saved Italy and Hitler saved Germany.

As to membership, let us see what their main organ says,

> If you are a weakling, or given to compromise, sentimentality, and docile acquiescence to intimidation, you are not wanted in the Silver Legion, which knows where it is going, and exactly what it purposes to accomplish. But if you are 18 years of age, of reasonably sound health and not afraid to risk your life and limb for your country, you are asked to take the Oath of Consecration upon you and step out as a True Christian Soldier, garbed in a shirt of Silver, with the great scarlet "L" emblazoned on and over your heart, standing for Love, Loyalty, and Liberation. (90)

From this one gathers that such an organization is for real, red-blooded, 100% patriotic, he-men.

Pelley and his Silver Shirts cannot stress anti-semitism too much. In this regard the organization is even more vicious than was the Ku Klux Klan. Pelley believes that Communism, the World War, the depression, even the N.R.A. were all caused by Jewish influence. In fact in much of their propaganda they even seek to prove that Roosevelt is a Jew. The Silver Shirts believe that it is the duty of such a Christian Militia to stamp out this Jewish curse that is so prevalent.

Pelley's weekly publication came out with this bit of interesting news from the Chief.

> Give me a quarter-million dollars to work with, all at one time, and I'll absolutely change the thinking of

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90. Ibid. p. 12.

> America and bring back our fundamental constitutionalism in a matter of months. Somewhere in the United States, sooner or later, there is going to be a personality who will recognize that in saying this I certainly have engaged in no idle boast. The quarter-million is going to be provided, the revelatory literature is going out in sufficient quantities to begin the actual end of this nightmare. (91)

Thus Pelley evidently had his troubles with raising money for his movement. Apparently, though, in their endeavor to eventually bring America back to a more fundamental constitutionalism, many chapters of the Silver Shirts drilled with arms.

> Evidence taken by a subcommittee at Los Angeles proved that many "Silver Shirts" at San Diego had been armed, that Government ammunition from North Island had come into their hands through nefarious methods and that a target range nearby was utilized for practice and maneuvers. In fact, two members of the United States Marines swore that they had been asked to and did instruct the "Silver Shirts". (92)

Later a Silver Shirt fleet of planes was proposed by a unit in Oklahoma. Evidently the organization felt that the only way to bring America back to a fundamental constitutionalism was by armed force.

There has often been talk concerning the Silver Shirts and the Brown Shirts as to whether they were united or not. The movements are in no way definitely alligned with one another although their sympathies are often identical. As has sometimes been the case the officers of one movement also have a membership in the other, but this however does not make a

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91. A. Graham, Crazy Like a Fox. New Republic, April 18, 1934. p. 264.
92. Congressional Report No. 153. p. 11.

definite affiliation between the two groups. Each movement is a separate Fascist tendency in our country.

Although Pelley's paper, Liberation, has gone into bankruptcy and he was convicted of a felony, the organization still lives on. There are still thousands of members who have decided Fascist tendencies who are ready "when the time comes" to make America safe for something or other.

There are many other shirt movements in the United States, among them, The White Shirts, The White Legion, The Gray Shirts, The Khaki Shirts and so on. These movements for the most part are just petty rackets that have grown up in some localities. They try to pattern themselves after the Brown Shirts and Silver Shirts by fomenting racial and religious intolerance. However, their chief business is to provide a handsome income for their officers. Nevertheless even these smaller movements act as a threat against democracy because they are developing minds to think in terms of Fascism.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN DILEMMA

Since the World War we have seen the growth of Fascism in Europe --- a growth that eats away on its neighbors with the idea that it someday will incorporate them into its nationalism. In the post-war days there was apparently a need for such a political growth in Europe. The post-war days affected America in an opposite way. These were days of "big business" and great financial upturns. Instead of finding our country war-torn and pitifully disrupted as was the case in Europe, we found ourselves in the midst of plenty and prosperity. The result was that our depression, such as the European countries experienced immediately following the war, was held off for a few years. Naturally when it did arrive in this country it had the same ominous aspects that had been present in Europe following the war.

The close of the war in Europe found the countries in the throes of debt. Many countries experienced a de-valuation of currency. The cost of living steadily rose. Factories were closed and thousands upon thousands found themselves unemployed. The majority of these unemployed were ex-service men. Men who felt that they had risked their lives for their country only to find themselves out of a job when the war was over. These conditions were fairly universal in Europe at

the close of the war. Out of such abnormal conditions sprang Fascism and its accompanying movements.

Before Fascism had a chance to firmly root itself in any one country, the Russian people awoke to freedom. For years they had been held in virtual bondage. The World War gave them their long-awaited chance. In March, 1917, after Russia had sufferred a series of defeats, a revolution broke out in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Prince Lvov, Professor Miliukov, and Alexander Kerensky were the leaders of this new movement which patterned itself after the governments of England, France, and the United States. America was the first country to recognize this new liberal Russia.

Many outstanding reforms were inaugarated but conditions were such that they could not receive the loyal support of all Russians. In November, 1917, came the second Russian revolution in which the proletarian Bolshevists (communists) took control. They were led by Lenin and Trotsky. The first revolution was primarily a middle-class affair while the second revolution was a movement of the workers and peasants against the middle and aristocratic classes. This second revolution is the only time, in all history, when a proletarian uprising has made good its promises. Every means was undertaken to set up a true Socialist State for the proletariat.

Thus the unemployed workers, all over Europe, for a few yearsimmediately following the World War, directed their anxious eyes to Russia to see how their fellow laborers were faring

under this new Socialist State. In fact it was only by a very scant margin that Italy went Fascist in 1922. Prior to the "March on Rome", the communist influence was strongly felt and at one time was almost accepted. In fact, as we have earlier seen, Mussolini was at one time a member of the Socialist Party.

Although there are many similarities between Fascism and Communism there are also inherent differences. Fascism is a middle-class movement that produces for profit and is an outgrowth of our present capitalistic system. In fact it is concerned with preserving the old system. Communism, on the other hand, is strictly a working-class movement, concerned with producing for use and not profit and thus certainly not trying to preserve the old capitalistic system. Both use coercion and both believe in dictatorships.

In looking at the history of the countries that have gone Fascist, one see's that the capitalists have always been in the majority control. Thus it is also easy to see why such countries chose Fascism instead of Communism.

Such conditions as these have most certainly had their influence on the United States. It was only natural that when the depression "hit" America, the workers and laborers turned to examine the political movements of Europe to see what they had to offer. We have always had representatives of such movements working in the United States in an endeavor to get this country to follow the example of political trends in Europe.

From 1930 to 1934 conditions were similar in the United

States to those that had occurred in Europe following the World War.

> In the spring of 1933, the low point of the depression, when unemployment rose to a staggering total of 17,250,000, nearly 35% of salaried employees were out of work compared with over 45% of the workers. For manufactures alone, in 1933, employment was 41% lower than in 1929 among salaried employees (mainly clerical) and 31% among wage-workers. (93)

In these conditions however we must note that the unemployment in the United States was now more universal than it had ever been before. It not only included the working class but for the first time in the history of our country included a great proportion of the middle-class.

> Unemployment was greater among technicians than among workers, involving 65% of the chemists, 85% of the engineers, and over 90% of the architects and draftsmen. ... By 1934 one out of five school teachers was unemployed. (94)

Our conditions were very similar to those experienced by the middle-class people in Europe. The great and enlarging unemployed middle-class were, on the whole, thoroughly in sympathy with our capitalistic form of government. In years past had they not been able to accumulate a reasonable amount of private property and wealth? And under our system weren't they allowed to develop a greater amount of individual initiative than any other system that they might choose? At least such was the attitude of many of those unemployed.

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93. Lewis Corey, The Crisis of The Middle Class, p. 24.
94. Loc. Cit.

In the midst of such turmoil though, the European countries offer two living examples of political theories that claim to be "the way out" --- Communism and Fascism. Such then is our present American dilemma. Which of these two theories shall we accept as a cure for our present evils? Will America go Communist or Fascist? At the present time both roads are offerred to Americans.

World history shows, rather conclusively, that the strong middle-class prefer Fascism to Communism because it offers salvation for our old capitalistic system. Communism demands the scrapping of the old system and a new beginning. Since, for the first time, many of our unemployed are members of the middle-class and since the middle-class has always had more control than the working class, in government, we will probably have inclinations for Fascism long before we will for Communism.

In fact President Roosevelt was elected in 1932 to help show us the way out. He was elected chiefly by this rising middle-class because he reflected the old system of Americanism. Hoover had failed with his plan so the masses elected another of their members to establish his New Deal. In the process of establishing his New Deal he changed the form of capitalism --- he reformed it.

In looking at President Roosevelt's attempt to bring us out of an economic crisis we can well say that many of his measures, though emergency in character, showed a definite trend

toward a centralization of power in the executive. The NRA, the AAA, the TVA were all attempts to fix prices and control production by governmental agencies. The P.W.A. projects, creating jobs, were also trends towards state supremacy and state control of the individual --- only this time it was the state's responsibility to provide the necessities of life. Regardless of whether we believe these things to be good or bad the fact remains that we are moving toward a centralized agency which is setting itself up to meet the needs of its people.

A perfect example of this centralization or governmental control is displayed in the recent act known as the "Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938". The purpose of this act is,

> To provide for the conservation of national soil resources and to provide an adequate and balanced flow of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce and for other purposes. (95)

In section 2 of the act we find its declaration of policy:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to continue the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended, for the purpose of conserving national resources, preventing the wasteful use of soil fertility, and of preserving, maintaining, and rebuilding the farm and ranch land resources in the national public interest; to accomplish these purposes through the encouragement of soil-building and soil-conserving crops and practices; to assist in the marketing of agricultural commodities for domestic consumption and for export; and to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in cotton, wheat, corn, tobacco, and rice to the extent necessary to provide an orderly, adequate,

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95. Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, p. 1.

> and balanced flow of such commodities in interstate and foreign commerce through storage of reserve supplies, loans, marketing quotas, assisting farmers to obtain, insofar as practicable, parity prices for such commodities and parity of income, and assisting consumers to obtain an adequate and steady supply of such commodities at fair prices. (96)

Now for the first time under law, the government steps in to work with the farmer "for the purpose of conserving national resources and preventing the wasteful use of soil fertility". The government is also going to seek to regulate interstate and foreign commerce in order to provide for a more adequate flow of certain commodities.

Under this act the government also creates a form of crop insurance whose purpose is,

> . . . to promote the national welfare by alleviating the economic distress caused by wheat-crop failures due to drought and other causes, by maintaining the purchasing power of the farmers, and by providing for stable supplies of wheat for domestic consumption and the orderly flow thereof in interstate commerce. (97)

What is the effect of this act on the farmer? Under this legislation the government knows, approximately, how much of the various farm products will be raised yearly. Thus the government seeks to regulate farm products in order to prevent both surplus and lean crops. Before a farmer may break virgin soil he must have the government's permission. Permission must also be obtained before certain crops can be raised. All of

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96. Loc. Cit.
97. Ibid p. 46.

this is a part of governmental control. Under the insurance part of the act the farmer is able to borrow from the government on his crops, thus enabling him to get higher market prices for his commodities. The farmer may also receive a "bonus" for not putting certain sections of his land under cultivation.

Throughout this act one can readily see governmental control, control that by its very nature is Fascist. Whether or not such an act proves harmful or beneficial depends on the type of control used to make the act function properly.

This recent Agricultural Act is merely another indication that our country is moving more and more towards a strong centralized government. Such a government, though not Fascist, may have certain Fascist tendencies.

America has a constituency of middle-class people who under the pressure of economic mal-adjustment, in all probability would turn to a reformed capitalism which would reserve for them some of their rights, as against a communism which would take from them their special priveleges. For,

> . . . the potential strength of a Fascist movement lies among: the students who come from middle-class backgrounds but can find no middle-class jobs; the white-collar, professional and small business groups who have lost their position and their independence but not their pride and their attachment to past privileges; the farmer whose economic security has been destroyed but who remains blindly loyal to the tradition of a pioneer era; the conservative workers who are compensated for poverty and want by

> the memory of the equality of opportunity which existed in America sixty or seventy years ago; the reactionary trade union leaders who have a vested interest in the jobs; and the great mass of unemployed of all classes who in their desperation will follow any gospel or any man that promises enough and denounces enough. (98)

Admitted then that we have the stuff of which Fascism is made, we might ask ourselves about the kind of a Fascist State which we Americans will have. The fact remains that Fascism in this country will be modified from the Fascism that we know abroad.

> The threat of the Long-Coughlin type of politics may be roughly but not inaccurately described as the threat of Fascism. The description is not accurate if we mean by it that American political developments are in danger of following the German --- Italian pattern. There are resources in American life which make such a development unlikely. The description is nevertheless is roughly correct in the sense that Long and Coughlin represent a political movement of the more desperate lower middle classes --- as Hitler and Mussolini did --- and that its purpose is to express the political resentments of this class against plutocracy and labor. (99)

If Fascism come by the channels of another but more serious depression, which seems almost inevitable, it will come gradually with more and more centralization of power and a slow and gradual decreasing of our civil liberties. In such a movement we may have a flare of racial prejudices, varying in nature according to the localities in which it serves. The Southern States may be fanned into a more decided Negro prejudice,

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98. Fascism, The League for Industrial Democracy, p. 26. (Pamphlet)

99. Editorial, "The Churches and American Fascism", Christian Century, March 13, 1935. p. 327.

while the large cities will probably respond to Jew hatred. If the economic pressure is severe, anything may be blamed upon these classes.

In all probability the United States will not turn to a dictatorship over night, but will probably be forced into this situation by the necessity of eating. Most all of us will sell our birth-rights for a mess of porridge. Fascism will come more hastily if our country enters another war, for in time of war a dictatorship could easily be set up and thus continued after the war was over.

However, regardless of whether Fascism comes because of continued economic breakdowns or as the result of another war, it will certainly be more gradual in development than any such movement has been in Europe. The traditions of individualism, the love of independence, the desire for academic learning, and the protestant belief in the worth of human personality held by at least a few of our more intellectual citizens, may in a small degree help to hold back the tide of Fascism. Fascism cannot be turned away from our country by actual fighting. The numbers that are against it are too small to be of any consequence at such a time. The inherited traditions of America will tend to strongly modify Fascism --- making it less barbarous --- until further depressions make it more ruthless. At this stage we may find a working class revolution which will cry out and demand its rights.

The future for America seems to unavoidably hold in its scheme --- Fascism. When the institutions such as our churches, schools, and homes are not only controlled but mentally motivated by middle-class conservative people, we can likewise expect of them, support for the Fascists.

> The suceptibility of church people to Fascism derives more from the fact that they are middle-class people than that they are religios. . . . The Fascists defense of religion against its radical critics and dictators is a natural source of strength to the church in the religious world. It is obviously not genuinely interested in the maintainence of Christian values. It is only shrewdly aware of the fact that it is the historic power of the Western world and it therefore seeks to harness this force to its political chariot. (100)

These institutions are however, the only hope that America has for escaping Fascism. Since these institutions mold in part the opinions of people, they may therefore enlighten these people if they themselves are first enlightened.

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100. Ibid p. 329.

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